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METHODIST REVIEW

JANUARY, 1921

THE UNPOPULARITY OF PERSONALISM

To anyone who has ever come into contact with Borden Parker Bowne, a reference to the unpopularity of personalism sounds strange and unreal: for Bowne was one of those optimistic natures that carry with them an air of victory, a triumphant and infectious faith. They make their convictions popular.

Indeed, it would not be unjust to say that Bowne's life-work was to stem the tide of defeat, and to transform the unpopularity of personalistic theism into a widespread popularity. He confronted a situation at the beginning of the 70's in which three main currents of thought were dominant: sensationalism (Mill), impersonal evolutionism (Spencer), and impersonal absolute idealism (Hegelianism in many of its forms). Each of these currents expressed or implied a denial of the reality of selfhood as a philosophical ultimate; hence, each was at bottom atheistic. Bowne, inspired by the insight that religion is the supreme value in human life, was essentially a fighter for theism. With the honesty of a lover of objective truth, and with the cogency of an acute logical intellect, he defended philosophical personalism against its foes, and gained for it an assured and recognized place in philosophy.

Bowne's life was a series of intellectual triumphs. This is especially remarkable on account of the peculiar difficulty of his task. He had, as I have said, to refute Spencer, Mill, and the Hegelians. That is, he had to show that both wings of the contemporary conflict between sensationalists and idealists were wrong. In solving this problem, he inevitably created for himself another, namely, that of rendering theistic faith itself more reasonable. He

had to oppose rationalism, yet assert the place and function of reason in religion. He had to defend faith, yet oppose in the current faith all that was self-contradictory or that substituted magic, mechanism, or any device of theological obscurantism for ethical personality in man and God. Thus he had continually to suffer the fate to which philosophical theists are peculiarly subject: the philosophical party called him a theologian (than which few terms of reproach are more scathing); while the religious party called him a heretic. Cast out by the Brahmins, he was, so to speak, a Pariah; and yet he achieved a position of unique prominence.

If it be asked how he thus attained popularity for himself and his cause, the answer may be found in the fact that he perceived and practised certain fundamental truths. He saw, in the first place, that belief must always be militant.[1] It is true that a *laisser faire* fatalism, masquerading as faith in divine Providence, might argue that God will be God and religion will survive whether men philosophize or not; and so it would abandon the whole attempt of human reason to think its problems through. Bowne weighed accurately the specious truth and the antinomian fallacy of this position. He understood that God himself could never make free beings into what they ought to be unless they cooperate with him in the use of all their powers; and that God's plans will be for the time being thwarted and religion will degenerate when intellectual indolence and incapacity are regarded as religious virtues. Piety is often a cloak for mental laziness; but such piety is mortal sin. The sovereignty of God no more palliates this sin than it does any other.

In the second place, Bowne saw that the fight for theism must be waged fairly; opposing contentions must be fully and clearly stated, and refuted in their best form. Bowne sought out the strongest foe, and fought him on his own ground with weapons of the intellect. If to-day we hear the cry about "our pagan universities," it behooves us to remember what Bowne so well knew, that neither blustering denunciation nor hot-house education far from knowledge of ideas prevalent in the wicked world will solve the problem. Only a fair fight will meet the intellectual need.

[1] Theism, p. 37.

In the third place, he saw the need of courage if his position were to be maintained—saw it not self-consciously, but practically. A theist has, for reasons previously indicated, many embarrassing difficulties on his hands. His position is often attacked by exponents of academic freedom who whisper, "Is he free? Is he saying what he really thinks? Or is he a hired servant of his master, the Church? Thus, by innuendo, they seek to undermine a position that can ill be taken by direct assault. It was part of Bowne's task to confront such attacks as these with the same unruffled courage that he displayed in the face of the attacks from anxious reactionaries within the church.

It is fitting that the great fighter for Christian theism died in action, with his armor on. To him Browning's lines apply with peculiar aptness,

> "I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
> The best and the last!"

He was one who

> "Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake."

When Bowne's life-work ended, one might have hoped that the main position of personalism which he had established could be regarded as a permanent gain, a step forward in Christian philosophy that was not to be retraced or abandoned. But permanent gains are not easily made in human life; and the history of philosophy is crowded with the names of great men whose achievements have been neglected, or misunderstood, or denied by later generations.

How does it stand now, at the beginning of the second decade since Bowne's death, with the cause of personalism? There are numerous distinguished philosophers who are, in their essential ideas, personalists very near to Bowne's type. In England, there are James Ward, W. R. Sorley, Rashdall, James Lindsay, Pringle-Pattison, and others; in Germany, Troeltsch and William Stern call themselves personalists; in Italy, Aliotta, author of "The Idealistic Reaction against Science," is remarkably close to

Bowne's ideas; while in this country, apart from Bowne's students, W. E. Hocking and Miss Calkins are the best-known personalists. The cause of personalism is by no means lost. Furthermore, I believe that the outlook for personalistic idealism is on the whole better now than it was ten years ago. Nevertheless, he would be very optimistic who denied that personalism is at the present time unpopular. It is unpopular in each of the camps where it is needed, namely, the religious and the philosophical.

The unpopularity of personalism among leaders of religious life is of various kinds and degrees. The tasks of the modern minister are so numerous and complex as to leave him no adequate time for philosophical reflection, for thinking through and ripening his convictions on the fundamentals of life. Practical duties quench intellectual zeal; and in some cases men who are called to be religious experts for their parishes dwell content with the memory of thinking done in college and seminary days, instead of keeping alive the thought life by the inspiring discipline of philosophical reading and reflection. Many men become so engrossed with the fruits of religion that the needs of roots are not understood. Others go so far as to deny the value of philosophy to the religious worker: what is needed, we are told, is a social reformation, new and better human relations. Thus does their half-truth become the enemy of the truth. For much as we need a new social order, we need God more: if not, let us cease at once all talk of religion. Personalism, it is true, does not make God; but it does help to make him intelligible and credible to an age perplexed by the advances of science and by the course of contemporary history. The unpopularity of personalism for the sake of social service is akin to throwing all charts overboard on the ground that charts are not available for food!

Among two other types of religious leaders there is a similar tendency. Many students of the science of religion (psychologists and historians) contend that the facts of religious experience may be known and genetically explained; but that the realm of metaphysics is all mist and uncertainty. There is also a large group of men for whom efficiency, organization, and method are the be-all and end-all of religious life. These men (mostly special-

ists in religious education), more or less unconsciously under the influence of Dewey's instrumentalism, make biological adjustment to environment the supreme test, even in religion, and have no place for a personalistic philosophy.

Thus various groups of religious leaders, for many reasons, which we shall consider later, are more or less indifferent or hostile to personalism and its attempt intellectually to defend the thesis that the universe is a society of persons under the leadership of a Supreme Creative Person who gives meaning and immanent cooperation to all that is finite.

Not merely among religious leaders, who are thus tending to a rejection of philosophy that amounts to positivism, but also among philosophers themselves is personalism unpopular. I have already mentioned the names of several contemporary personalists, and expressed hope and confidence for the future. But if we confine our attention to present facts, especially in America, we find that the opposition to personalism is more than they that be for us. This opposition may roughly be classified into four groups.

The first group consists of aggressive anti-personalists, who refuse to recognize the metaphysical validity of a Supreme Person, and who are therefore, in the strict sense, atheists. Philosophy, like politics, makes strange bed-fellows, and the most diverse types are found agreed in a common impersonalism. I shall mention a few outstanding instances. Among the absolute idealists, or speculative philosophers as they are now (somewhat defiantly) calling themselves, men like Bradley and Bosanquet regard personality as a finite and relative expression of reality, and insist that the Absolute is not personal—Bradley leaning toward the ineffable super-personal (whatever that may be), and Bosanquet finding true individuality only in the organic whole of being, which is no person. It must not be overlooked, however, that some absolute idealists are strong defenders of the principle of personality. At the opposite extreme there are the positivists, who deny personalism because all metaphysics is obnoxious to them. The influence of this current of thought works out in some systems that repudiate it. The new realism is, I am convinced, closely allied to positivism. Here we have the militant Stoic impersonalism of Bertrand

Russell, whose essay, "The Free Man's Worship," has become a classic of atheistic religion. A realist like Professor Sellars of the University of Michigan in "The Next Step in Religion" advocates what is essentially Comte's positivistic religion of humanity. The Dewey school of pragmatic genus, instrumentalist species, substitutes the categories of biology and democracy for those of theism and personality in interpreting the meaning of life. (I may be wrong in regarding this school as an aggressive impersonalism, for Dewey is not sufficiently interested in personalism to attack it, as do the others named.) Professor Leuba is a psychologist who would belong in this group, and whose work is increasingly a polemic against theism.

The second group is composed of impersonalists who nevertheless accept one fundamental tenet of personalism, namely, the objectivity of value. If one believes that the higher moral and spiritual values of human life are not products of history, nor of human effort, nor of natural selection, but that they belong to an eternal order other than human, of which man is seeking to catch a vision, however dim, one holds to the objectivity of value. This faith in the reality of truth, goodness, and beauty is, as Professor Sorley has shown in his recent Gifford lectures, at once a support of and an essential factor in personalism. But there have always been philosophers who, like the aggressive impersonalist Bosanquet, have believed that these values somehow eternally exist or subsist in the system of things without locating their objectivity in the thought and will of God. Professor Hoernle's recent Studies in Contemporary Metaphysics is an instance of this attitude of the Bosanquetian school, while Professor Adam's Idealism and the Modern Age, penetrating and suggestive as it is, appears to remain impersonal in its ultimate categories.

The third group is that of avowed theists who are, in some respect or other, not thorough-going personalists. A philosopher of religion like Mr. George Galloway finds it impossible to accept the argument for interaction as developed by Lotze in his Metaphysics and by Bowne in the Theism. An interacting system which has its whole being in and for personality he rejects in favor of a theism which recognizes in the world of nature "a con-

tinuous medium," out of which the lowest centers of experience are "differentiated and in which they interact." What this medium may be is not clear. "There is," he tells us, "no intention to assert an ultimate difference in kind between individual experience and the medium in which they interact." The medium, then, would seem to be a sort of consciousness—or experience—reservoir, in which there are no personal distinctions—differentiated both from God and from all finite personality. In the end, however, this medium almost vanishes, for it is "something brought into being and constantly sustained by the Supreme Will, and having no reality apart from that Will. As such it is, in its totality, embraced by the Divine Experience" (p. 455). It is only this subtle conception of a created something neither material nor personal which separates Galloway from personalism.

Professor J. E. Boodin's "A Realistic Universe" is an account of things in which the "medium" desiderated by Galloway looms larger, in various forms, such as energy and things, space and time. But when Boodin envisages the world of what he calls form, that is, value, he is led to posit a Supreme Personality as the home of all that is supremely good. Macintosh of Yale is a theist of similar realistic tendency.

Others of the third group are much more remote from personalism. It is noteworthy and remarkable that some of the neo-realists, who otherwise belong wholeheartedly among aggressive impersonalists, nevertheless call themselves theists and name the name of God; albeit one of them a few years ago seriously proposed to do away entirely with the word "God" in philosophy, on account of its ambiguity and false connotations! Professor Perry, for example, calls his realism theistic and melioristic, showing some friendliness to the "finite God" (recently made famous by Mr. H. G. Wells). But if one searches the writings of Professor Perry with the best intentions, one is almost driven to the conclusion that "God" is for him an honorific epithet for his meliorism, his theory that, despite the predictions of science regarding the future of this planet, we may fairly hope for a permanent progress of the human race. If God means more for him than this, the more is shadowed in obscurity. Professor

Spaulding's realistic God is at once more and less satisfactory than Professor Perry's. More satisfactory, because more clearly defined—his God is supra-personal and consists of the realm of objective values, such as justice, love, and the like, which eternally subsist, influence the human world, yet are themselves beyond and above all personality; but this conception is less satisfactory because it is by far less conceivable. The idea of the perpetual progress of the human race on this earth is both thinkable and pleasing, if not probable; but the idea of impersonal objective values, though invested with the authority of Plato himself, is much less intelligible. The form of words can be entertained in the mind; but very few minds have been able to attribute a definite meaning to the idea. If this is to be our substitute for personalism as an explanation of the universe, the explanation will need more explanation than the universe itself.

The fourth group may be called partial personalists. It differs from the preceding group in that the third consisted of those who, to some extent, avow the theistic conclusion while rejecting more or less the personalistic arguments which support that conclusion. The fourth group consists of those who, accepting in large measure a personalistic foundation, for some reason hesitate in the presence of a personalistic conclusion, and either deny the existence of a personal God, or somehow shuffle or evade in the presence of the problem. It is with this group of "near-personalists" that we are chiefly concerned. To illustrate the type, we shall discuss the positions of Höffding, M'Taggart, Windelband, Eucken, and Bergson.

Harold Höffding, the distinguished Danish philosopher, has made important contributions in the fields of psychology, ethics, history of modern philosophy, and philosophy of religion. It is with his work in the last field that we are here concerned. He holds that religion is essentially a belief in the axiom of the conservation of values: faith asserts that, come what may, the truly worthful will never perish. This axiom is, on the whole, as well established as the axioms of natural science, to which it is in many respects analogous. Furthermore all value is, according to Höffding, dependent on personality, which is itself the highest

value. These fundamental ideas would appear to lead logically to the immortality of the soul and a personal God. For if values are conserved, and values depend on personality, it would seem *a fortiori* necessary that personality should be conserved. And if the world-order is such that it is an expression of permanent values, then it must be dependent on personality. But Höffding does not follow this order of reasoning. Having admitted that all men are mortal, and that Socrates is a man, he doubts whether Socrates is mortal. He grants the most important premises of a personalistic philosophy of religion; but timidly recoils from the personalistic conclusion. Ultimately, he asserts, all religious ideas are symbols; belief in God and immortality is but a symbol for the conservation of value, which, for all we know, may be conserved in some entirely different way than by a personal God who guarantees personal immortality. This symbol theory appeals to certain types of mind that are sympathetic with the ideals of personalism, yet hesitate to make its great affirmations. The late theologian Bousset hints at such symbolism; Santayana holds fervently to it; Eucken, as we shall see, yielded to it. But it is at best a vague idea, in perpetual unstable equilibrium between frank agnosticism and frank belief of some sort. In Höffding's case, the underlying conviction seems to be that doubt is more reasonable than faith, even when all the facts observable in the value-experience point toward faith. The weakness of Höffding's conclusion should not diminish our appreciation of his contributions; nor should respect for those contributions dazzle us into accepting his conclusion.

A very different type of "near-personalist" is J. M. E. M'Taggart, who has been publishing his interpretations of Hegel since 1896. Like Höffding, he is interested in the interpretation of religion; unlike him, he contends sharply against all forms of impersonalism, especially that impersonal absolute idealism that has been characteristic of many Hegelians. He is as clear as Bowne in teaching that knowing presupposes a self, and that the meaning of the universe can be stated only in terms of selves and their rational purposes. Personality is the ultimately real; there is no impersonal being. Furthermore, personality is im-

mortal; indeed, few philosophers have put immortality in so central a position as has M'Taggart. In short, he is clearly a personalist, in the sense; but in this peculiar sense, that he holds to a universe of persons without any one Supreme Person; he believes in immortality, but denies God. He holds that a plurality of finite persons will, in the course of immortality together, know all that is knowable, will fulfill the purpose of the universe, will work out all the implications of the Hegelian dialect, and so the many may dispense with the services of The One. This amazing type of pluralism, held only by M'Taggart, so far as I know, serves as a further striking instance of the failure to draw personalistic conclusions from personalistic premises; although in fairness it should be added that M'Taggart does not intend to employ personalistic method proper, but prefers to breathe the thin air of rigor and vigor.

It is appropriate to cite in connection with M'Taggart's pluralistic Hegelianism a different sort of modern Hegelian, namely, Windelband, the famous historian of philosophy who passed away during the world war. In Windelband's idealism we find not only the Kantian elements which are basic in the personalistic epistemology; we find also the interest in values and their objectivity, the characteristic doctrine that origin does not determine meaning and value, and a genuine appreciation of religion. Few philosophers have written so sublimely and profoundly on the philosophy of religion as Windelband in his essay on "*Das Heilige*" (The Holy). He there dwells on the uniqueness of religion; he regards the holy as including, and yet adding to, the true, the good, and the beautiful; "it has a superhuman, supernatural content." The religious "conscience presupposes the metaphysical validity of the *Normbewusstsein*" (that is, the standard value-consciousness). This sounds like a deduction of personalistic theism from the facts of religious experience. He says explicitly that "religious life, as history irrefutably teaches, languishes helplessly when it thinks to escape the personal conception." Nevertheless, he finds a contradiction involved in the idea of an absolute personality that is at once the standard of all that ought to be and the source of all that is. He finds an insoluble

conflict between the real and the ideal. He is so overwhelmed by the problem of evil that his final word is "the impossibility of the solution of an unavoidable problem," although he hints at the Platonic doctrine of a good and an evil world-soul (a God and a Satan) as a possible solution. The agnosticism with which Windelband ends is essentially less skeptical and more religious than Höffding's. We might almost claim him as a personalist; but his most recent work, Einleitung in die Philosophie, shows him increasingly impersonalistic, dualistic, and pessimistic in his latest thought.

Another philosopher may be mentioned who has been heralded as the renewer of German idealism, and from whom, despite his unhappy eclipse since 1914, many of us have learned. I refer to Eucken, whose high tribute to Bowne (preserved in permanent form in Professor Flewelling's Personalism and the Problems of Philosophy) will not soon be forgotten. Eucken's philosophy finds its problem set for it in the confusion, contradictions, marvelous technical developments yet manifest aimlessness of modern life. Given what he calls "the problem of human life," he inquires as to whether this life has meaning and value. At first sight, it seems a chaos, and if we confine our attention to the "merely human" or the "pettily human" it remains a chaos. Even if we study the world as reconstructed by science, we find no clue to the worth of things. But if we take a broader view of the whole of experience, we find in the higher aspects of human life something which achieves harmony, truth, beauty, and goodness; this something is so powerful in its influence, so unified in its structure, so superior to the human individuals who possess it, that it must be—so argues Eucken—the manifestation of a superhuman and supernatural Spiritual Life (*Geistesleben*). The meaning of human life lies in an increasing appropriation of this Spiritual Life through a new spiritual activity. "A more energetic concentration of life in itself is therefore the first condition of transcending the chaos of the life of the present." Hence he calls his system activism.

The relation between Eucken's activism and personalism is very close. Essentially, Eucken is dissatisfied with the rigor and

vigor method and his activism is almost identical with personalistic method. His emphasis on "life," as opposed to barren abstraction, is very like Bowne. His argument for the absolute Spiritual Life on which all meaning in human life depends is an expression of the personalistic belief in the objectivity of values. That Spiritual Life itself seems to be a Supreme Person. Here we have what is apparently a complete personalism.

But after all, Eucken's thought does not quite arrive at the goal: even with him, personalism is unpopular. May I point out two respects in which this seems to be the case, namely, in his philosophy of nature and in his ultimate conception of Spiritual Life.

Bowne's personalistic view of nature is familiar. The whole of nature (so he holds) is entirely dependent on and is a direct manifestation of the will of God, "The World-Ground"—the One Supreme Person. This is a thoroughly idealistic view of nature. Now Eucken is certainly opposed to materialism; but he also expresses doubts of "spiritualism" as held either by Leibnitz or by Hegel (Main Currents of Modern Thought, p. 224f.): still more hostile is he to that monism popularized by Haeckel, which would make mind and matter both aspects or manifestations of some *tertium quid,* some *x*-substance, itself neither mind nor matter (*ibid.,* pp. 154, 157, 222f., 228f.). Eucken's own philosophy of nature does not seem to be very clearly expressed. It may be that he regards the problem of nature, like the problem of evil, as incapable of theoretic solution. The following passage is perhaps the best summary of his attitude. "It is customary to-day to regard the world as a series of ascending stages, but there is an important divergence of opinion upon the question whether the higher is a mere product of the lower . . . , or whether, in the higher, something new and original comes to light, something which can only be understood by enlarging our conception of the world as a whole. The opposition between these two views becomes peculiarly acute in the case of the problem of the relationship between nature and Spiritual Life. *Is the latter a mere product of the former, or does it form the commencement of a new stage of reality?* . . . If spiritual life, with its inwardness and wholeness, has a nature

and origin of its own, then it belongs essentially to the whole and must from the very beginning have been operative in the movement of the whole, directing it toward itself" (*ibid.*, 184f.). This is indeed close to personalism: it regards nature as controlled and directed by Spiritual Life, but after all it recognizes the existence of a surd, a cord-like impersonal entity in all matter, as Galloway had done. Nature is, on this view, a lower and essentially different stage of reality, which does not produce, but rather is controlled by that Spiritual Life which is the ultimate meaning of all that is. A personalist would, perhaps, find little pragmatic harm flowing from such a view, except for the intellectual difficulties involved in the apparent admission that there is a type of impersonal reality in nature the existence of which (although not its ideal uses) may be defined without reference to personality. What such being would be is an ontological puzzle; but if such being is admitted, it is another puzzle to know why it might not be used to explain the Spiritual Life itself.

Much more important is the other point in which Eucken appears to diverge from a lucid personalism, namely, his fundamental concept of the Spiritual Life, or *Geistesleben,* the independent, superhuman, spiritual unity from which all true values come and in which all life finds its meaning. The problem takes this form: Is this Spiritual Life a Supreme Person, a personal God, or is it another noble and inspiring ineffability in the history of philosophy? There is no doubt that Eucken thinks in a personalistic mood at times. Mr. Widgery, translator of *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal,* asserts that "The independent spiritual life is self-conscious"; "it is only by relation to life as self-conscious that we can predicate meaning or value" (pp. xii, xi). He points out the affinity of Eucken's thought with "Personal Idealism" (p. xv); yet, in spite of all, hints that there is in Eucken the same wavering between personal and impersonal as James Ward finds in Hegel (p. xvii).

It is this wavering to which I wish to call special attention. There are, it is true, many passages in which Eucken makes personality the truly real. For instance, his early work, "Die Einheit des Geisteslebens in Bewusstsein und That der Menschheit" (Leip-

zig, 1888), finds its climax (pp. 341-499) in a sympathetic exposition of the personalistic standpoint that has been too much neglected by students of his thought. In the Main Currents of Modern Thought, he calls impersonalism negation, which can content only a weak, languid, and invertebrate type of thought," whereas "whenever spiritual life develops more power and confidence . . . it will pursue the paths which lead to the idea of personality" (p. 418). Despite this, Eucken displays a strange unwillingness consistently to assign to personality a central place in his thinking, an unwillingness that has visibly increased since 1888. Every reader of the Introduction to a Philosophy of the Spiritual Life (1908) must have been struck by the way in which the chapters—on unity and plurality, change and permanence, inner and outer worlds, the problem of truth, the problem of happiness—each set down the personalistic premises without drawing the personalistic conclusion. The ultimate reality is called a "World-Life," a "Spirituality," and the like. The language of personal life is absent or very much in the background. It is, of course, unimportant whether a thinker uses one word or another to convey a meaning, provided the meaning is conveyed. It seems to me that Eucken not only avoids the word personality, but is doubtful about the thing itself. At any rate, he is apparently so fearful of falling into anthropomorphism that he advocates banishing the term personality from the scientific vocabulary, or at least regarding it as a mere symbol (*Bild*); "yes, the question arises whether, in order to avoid the perils of the concept of personality, universal religion should not prefer the expression 'Deity' to 'God'" (The Truth of Religion, 3d German ed., Leipzig, 1912, p. 148). He indeed admits that "characteristic religion" gives personality a better right; but he is clearly affected by the prevalent unpopularity of personalism.

I am not convinced, as some are, that "Eucken in his later philosophy is a renegade to the personalism of his earlier work," and I am prepared to admit that Boyce-Gibson may be right in saying that "Eucken's absolutism is only an aspect of his personalism" (*R. Eucken's Philosophy of Life,* London, A. and C. Black, 1907, p. 158). But Boyce-Gibson himself sees that "in defending

the immeasurable claims of the *Geistesleben,* Eucken tends to lose sight of his personalistic basis" (p. 159). There is little doubt that Eucken's personalism is hesitant and vague. This fact, which at present I shall not seek to explain, is a striking instance of the unpopularity of personalism with a thinker who has been regarded as one of the leading personalists of his generation.

The name of Henri Bergson, of the College of France, was, in the days before 1914, often coupled with that of Eucken. Superficially their systems were very different. The German was primarily a philosopher of the higher values of the spirit; the Frenchman, primarily a psychologist, and concerned with the philosophy of nature. The former had a vision of the absolute and eternal; the latter was a modern Heraclitus, a philosopher of change, a believer in real duration. Eucken taught the essential unity of the spiritual life; Bergson, the diversity in the manifestations of the fundamental life-force. The one was an interpreter of human history; the other, of science, especially biological science. The chief instrument for the fruitful advance of philosophical knowledge was, according to Eucken, spiritual activity, the creation of a new order over against the chaos of natural experience; according to Bergson, it was intuition, the capacity to see the stream of life as it is actually lived, without distortion by intellectual concepts. In this case, it is true, the contrast is not so sharp, for Bergson characterizes intuition as a "violent activity." The differences between Eucken and Bergson are in many items not dissimilar to the differences between those bitter enemies, Hegel and Schopenhauer. Eucken has indeed been regarded as a reviver of German idealism, and Bergson has (although surely unjustly) been charged with plagiarizing from Schopenhauer. Harking back to Greek times, we might pair Eucken with Parmenides against Bergson's Heraclitus.

In view of such contrasts, so sharp as hardly to be distinguished from contradictions, it appears amazing that personalists have been inclined to claim both Eucken and Bergson as members, or at least near relatives, of their clan. Nevertheless, the personalist claim is, on the whole, as well justified in the case of the Frenchman as in that of the German. But at the same time, our thesis

of the unpopularity of personalism also receives a striking illustration in Bergson's case.

The main outlines of Bergson's philosophy are too familiar to need more than a brief sketch. The chief trouble—so runs the tale—with previous philosophers has been that they trusted to the intellect. Now the intellect is misleading: it cuts out static concepts from the flow of life, and it places all these concepts in clear-cut mutual externality to each other, just as objects in space are separate and mutually external. Not only is intellect thus debarred *ab initio* from a knowledge of the ever-changing life of reality; but it is also condemned to that particular kind of error that interprets everything in space-terms, namely, the view of the world as a mechanism. For this fallacious method and its consequent false world-view, Bergson would substitute the method of intuition, of the immediate grasp of changing experience by the mind not yet intellectually debauched, and the world-view of creative evolution which follows from the application of this method. According to the new world-view, reality is originally a process, a forward urge, which comes to expression in the two forms of life and matter; each of these again splits into many forms, life by an *élan vital*, a vital impulse, according to the principle of creative evolution. Most important is the division of life into instinct and intelligence. The significant point in the process which gives us clues to the meaning of the whole evolution is consciousness, which with its combination of memory of the past with freedom to create the new shows us on a small scale how the world process works (*cf.* in *Creative Evolution,* pp. 10, 208, 369f.).

Is this personalism? The rejection of intellect in favor of intuition is an unfortunate use of terms, but doubtless is intended to convey an aspect of personalistic method as opposed to the rigor and vigor of pure, but barren, rationalism, another aspect of which is reflected in Eucken's call for spiritual activity as opposed to mere intellectual analysis of the given. The attack on a mechanical world-view, and the defense of freedom, two of Bergson's basic ideas, are cornerstones of personalism. Santayana scornfully admits that "what has actually been done is to offer us a history, on the assumption of idealism, of the idea of mind and the idea

of matter."[1] Miss Calkins, in her article "Henri Bergson: Personalist,"[2] has shown that his psychology, at least, is based on the self. In his famous letter to Father de Tonquédec, Bergson himself asserts[3] that from his writings "we derive a clear idea of a free and creating God, producing matter and life at once, whose creative effort is continued in a vital direction by the evolution of species and the construction of human personalities."

Nevertheless, Bergson is not a thorough-going personalist; at bottom, he appears to me to be less a personalist than Eucken. There are several specific points to which I wish to call attention.

First, and most important, Bergson's published work lacks any evidence of profound interest in the higher values of life, morality, art, religion. His mind turns to a description of fact rather than to an appreciation of value. Let us grant that he is, in the existential sense, a personalist; that he regards personalities as the only reals, and creative evolution as a process of personal will. To believe all this, including the metaphysically sound concept of a personal creator of all, is not to be a personalist in Bowne's sense, nor even in Eucken's more diluted sense. For them, personality is an ethical concept: and the ethical life (they hold) finds its center and necessary completion in a religious relation to the divine. It is true that Bowne does not talk about this all the way through epistomology and metaphysics; he is not a preacher like Eucken. But it is the key of every utterance of Bowne's, without which his personalism would be incomplete, if not futile. If Bergson's work has this same background, it is not yet evident from his writings.

Secondly, Bergson's attitude toward teleology is, as Dr. Sheldon recently has pointed out,[4] foreign to personalism. We are accustomed to looking on the dilemma mechanism *or* teleology as leaving no middle ground. But Bergson's polemic in *Creative Evolution* is directed no less against the latter (finalism, as he calls it) than the former. He objects to the *vis a tergo* in the mechanical theory; but he also objects to the *vis a fronte,* at least

[1] *Winds of Doctrine*, p. 96.
[2] Phil. Rev., 21 (1912), 666–675.
[3] Cited, E. LeRoy, *The New Philosophy of Henri Bergson*, pp. 224f.
[4] Pantheistic Dilemmas.

in so far as it implies a world-purpose; planning with foresight of the ends to be attained. His *élan vital* does not plan, does not foresee, but moves onward, attaining goals (all of which appear as provisional), freely creating, yet not intending what it creates: operating, in short, more like instinct than intellect. If Bergson is thinking of personality in this connection, it is of what we must regard as a lower, sub-rational type of personality.

Thirdly, in close relation to the preceding, we may raise the question as to whether the ultimate reality is properly to be regarded as personal in any sense. Often Bergson points out its analogies to consciousness; and he doubtless has moods in which he regards it as personal. But he also has moods in which he regards it as blind will, purposeless striving. Recent investigations, referred to above, have emphasized the similarity of the thought of Bergson and Schopenhauer. On the whole, then, one is inclined to the belief that he is a metaphysical voluntarist, somewhat after Schopenhauer's pattern, but minus his pessimism, and (manifestly) plus a great many original insights and stimulating contributions to thought. That is, in spite of his emphasis on freedom and personality in psychology, his ontological unit is not personality, but will: will, abstracted from self-consciousness, purpose, rationality, and moral law, which constitute the marrow of personality. It is impossible to regard this as a personalistic position. It must, however, be admitted that his recently published essays entitled *Mind Energy* appear to incline more towards personalism, and toward a recognition of moral and intellectual factors.

Fourthly, his theory of matter is, to say the least, vague, in which respect it resembles Eucken's. In one of the vivid pictures with which Bergson at once enlightens us and seduces our critical faculties, he compares the course of the world-process to that of a sky-rocket, matter being the cinders that drop from its flight. In some sense, matter appears to be conceived as a product or differentiation of the original impulse, and we have found Bergson speaking of it as the creation of God; yet at the same time it seems something foreign to life and obstructing it. Critics have pointed out that his theory of matter and life vacillates between a dualism

and a monism. Neither Bergson nor Eucken is a thorough-going personalist in theory of matter.

Finally, it is doubtful whether he has an Absolute in any satisfactory sense. He uses the term fairly often. In An Introduction to Metaphysics he begins with a definition of "absolute" as what the object is from within, in itself. Intellect knows only relations; intuition grasps the absolute. Most readers of Bergson will be surprised to hear him speaking as follows: "The Absolute is revealed very near us and, in a certain measure, in us. It is of psychological, not of mathematical nor logical essence" (*Creative Evolution,* pp. 298f.). But emphasis on an independent cause of the finite is out of harmony with the main current of Bergson's thought. In the philosophy of change it is hard to find room for anything changeless. If there is any Absolute in Bergson's philosophy, it is change and process made absolute. Hence, it is not surprising that his interpreters, taking his word for it that he is a theist, tend to attribute to him the idea of a finite and developing God.[5] It may be that he has clearer ideas on the subject than he has yet expressed: until he gives these ideas to the world, we may fairly judge that his system contains no absolute in the sense of personalism.

This completes the group of men that we are studying as instances of thinkers who approach personalism in many ways, and who accept many of its premises, without drawing its conclusion. They dwell in the city of Almost, and their tribe is larger than the group of five.

It would be a lamentable error for a personalist to follow the intolerant example of Hume and to test the value of philosophical writing by its conformity with his own convictions; and in the absence of such conformity to commit the work in question to the flames, or to shout with the Queen in Alice, "Off with its head." The spirit of our criticisms has not been that of the heresy-hunt. The man who cannot learn from the study of writers with whom he disagrees, and who cannot read such writers appreciatively and discriminatingly, was not born with a philosophical spirit.

[5] F. H. Foster, "Some Theistic Implications of Bergson's Philosophy," American Journal Theology, 22 (1918), 274-299.

He had better either repent and reform, or else abandon the vain attempt to understand philosophy.

Our purpose in studying Höffding, Windelband, M'Taggart, Eucken, and Bergson, was neither to condemn nor to praise, although criticisms both favorable and unfavorable have been passed on each one. It was rather to make clear that our sense of the philosophical triumph of personalism needs to be chastened, not only by an awareness of a strong and aggressive impersonalism in current thought, but also by the knowledge that even thinkers who seem to be personalists in many aspects of their thoughts display a strange reluctance to commit themselves to a clearly theistic personalism. Theism seems to be taboo in many circles; it is what the children call poison—you mustn't touch it. At most, you use the word, so long as you abstain from the reality! This fact, affecting as it does the intellectual and the religious life of the whole modern world, is of profound importance. The aim of the present discussion has been to show the existence of the fact; in a subsequent article an attempt will be made to find its causes.

Edgar S. Brightman

THE FABRIC OF SOCIETY

Two movements in recent years have directed attention to the philosophy of society. In the first instance there was the social disturbance produced by economic distress. Then came the upheaval of the war. And now that the war is over, the two movements join in the era of reconstruction. The remnants of the international conflict continue to emphasize the questions of political organization. Under the influence of governmental disasters and cruel suffering, social change has been intensified to the point of revolution. The greater, therefore, has the need become to consider the nature and the analysis of the social group.

During the war the political phases of the problem were most in evidence. For it was soon perceived that one of the chief issues of the conflict turned on divergent conceptions of the state. Amid the perplexities of reconstruction thought is forced to take a broader sweep, one more in harmony with the nature of the case. Various factors enter into the organization which we call society. The social fabric is woven from many different strands. Even if our abstract interpretations neglect the fact, experience serves to bring us nearer to the truth. History since the revolutionary era shows that political progress will not suffice, if men remain in economic and industrial misery. The latest proof is the clearest that governments cannot safely disregard considerations of the moral order. The world's present distress forbids us to forget that man is bound to man and nation to nation by conditions of material dependence as well as by those which lead us into the sphere of ideal sympathy.

Nevertheless, the problem of the state forms a convenient center for the discussion of society as a whole. And in the period of the war sudden light was thrown on the contrast between the views of the contending peoples. The German theory favored absolutism, although the doctrine of the absolute state had not originated with the Germans, nor had it been held by them alone. In recent times the doctrine has been traced back to the

philosopher Hegel; yet it might be said with greater accuracy that it was Hegel who gave it its latest classical expression, and, in general, that the absolutism of the Empire was conditioned far more by political and economic than by philosophical forces. The substance of the doctrine is the independence of the state and its supremacy. The interests of the individual, on the other hand, and his significance are deemed subordinate. Sometimes it is said that the Germans conceive the state quite apart from individuals, as an entity entirely above and separated from them. But this extreme of dogma is to be considered doubtful. At least, in so far as philosophers of rank are concerned, and notably in regard to Hegel, it may well be questioned whether such an absurdity has ever been literally advocated. Hegel's teaching meant that the state forms the climax of the rational order of the world. For him the essence of the world is reason. Reason comes to conscious realization in humanity. In order to its development, especially for its highest manifestation, an ordered political community is indispensable. Only in a society politically organized can art, religion, philosophy flourish; in such a community alone is it possible for man to live the life of rational freedom. The state, then, is not an artificial institution, no artifact, as Hobbes had called it, no form created by art and man's device. On the contrary, it is essential and primordial. So far from being the result of human choice, it is the sole foundation on which humanity can reach its full development.

The Anglo-Saxon tradition in matters political has been of an opposite kind. If the one theory emphasizes the supremacy of the political body, the other favors the individual by the recognition of his rights and interests. There have been notable exceptions, indeed, among the thinkers of each nation. At the close of the eighteenth century, Kant, the greatest of German philosophers, advocated liberal views. A representative form of government, the abolition of standing armies, a league of peaceful states—these were among the conditions which he proposed in order to the establishment of perpetual peace. And a century and a half earlier than Kant, England had produced a great political philosopher departing from the usual national type. Then, Hobbes,

moved by the disorders of the Stuart time, advanced his absolute theory of the state. Hobbes assumed, it is true, that the body politic is established by agreement—formed by a compact among individuals grown weary of the insecurity prevailing in the natural state of man. But once created, once made, as the philosopher phrased it, the political authority ruled supreme. The social contract must be irrevocable. The sovereign was to govern as an absolute monarch. The citizens were to be entirely subject to his laws—even to those which prescribed their outward religious observance, retaining their freedom in their inward belief alone.

No doubt there are other exceptions which might be cited. But even in these variant doctrines closer examination often reveals something less than a complete departure from the national type. Thus there is in Hobbes a subtle adherence to the British point of view, or at least a marked anticipation of principles adopted by many an English leader since his day. The state, he taught, must be in all respects supreme. But note once more the fact that this state is an artificial institution. In his primitive condition, the famous "state of nature," man is not political. Men become citizens only because their original condition is insupportable. And in this earlier life, their pre-political stage, they are already human beings. Here, then, is an absolutism very different from the absolutism of Hegel. For the body politic is not considered an essential thing, in an important sense primitive and original. On the contrary, it is described as a composite result of human art. It is made up of atoms—men; and these existed quite before the work which their hands have made. An illustration is furnished by the frontispiece to some editions of Hobbes's principal work, *Leviathan*. The state is so named after the great beast of the Scriptures, for it is a giant political body. And in the cut we are shown of what this body consists. It is made up of units—men—each of whom was complete in his previous isolation. The giant is a greater human figure, put together from these parts and existing merely as an aggregation of them.

Atomistic ideas of this kind have colored the greater part of the political philosophy which is written in our mother tongue.

And they have affected not only our political thinking, but our view of society at large. Much of Hobbes's doctrine has ceased to be a living influence. The social-contract theory is happily quite out of date. And few English-speaking philosophers have been political absolutists of any school, at least in the later modern age. But the notion of the individual which Hobbes favored and the artificial analysis of the state have conditioned our beliefs down to the present day. Their influence reappeared in the last generation even in the work of Herbert Spencer. Spencer was a great evolutionist and a great sociologist as well. And the logical issue of these tendencies combined would surely seem to be an organic theory of social organization. But although Spencer did put forward the organic interpretation of society, in the end he became a conspicuous example of the strength of the British tradition. One might almost say that for him society resembled an organism considered in an inorganic way. Recall, for instance, the celebrated essays, *Man versus the State,* published in 1884, and in which he defends extreme individualism against all suggestions of collectivistic theory, not to say of Socialistic doctrine. The functions of government, he argues, must be reduced to a minimum. Early Liberalism is praised, not because it lessened human suffering, but because it diminished the range of governmental authority. State intervention is condemned in forms which the most convinced individualist nowadays takes for granted. Factory legislation, food and house inspection, poor relief, free compulsory education in turn are criticized as evidences of the sinister trend of the times toward the establishment of "social slavery."

In these respects Spencer represented the English tradition at its maximum development. But, short of such extremes, the question presses whether the traditional ideal of our stock supplies an adequate basis for the work of the new age. In the past it has done magnificent service, for ourselves and for mankind. Under its inspiration our race has led the way in the founding of civil liberty, in the promotion of democracy, in the building of a chain of free commonwealths around the globe. And never was its influence of greater worth than in the years of the great

war, as first Britain, then our own beloved land, took up arms not simply in maintenance of their own interests, but that force might not triumph, nor liberty and justice perish from the earth.

Whatever, therefore, may be the defects of our tradition, we may safely conclude that it involves a principle of supreme importance. And analysis confirms the result of the preliminary inquiry. Individualism suggests the principle of personality. And in the philosophy of society there is none superior to this, whether it be tried by the test of fact or the criterion of value. For in several respects the social group is the most remarkable of which man has knowledge. Anon it will become our task to note the feature of social organization which give it substantive reality. Here a contrary factor comes into a clearer view, the truth that self-conscious persons are at once the units of society and the ends for whose sake society exists. This distinguishes society from other collective entities. In regard to physical composites, it may be doubted whether a comparison of the whole and the parts in point of value is logically relevant. But if such a comparison were instituted, no one would say that the composite body existed for the sake of the particles which enter into it. In living beings the cells contribute to the life of the organism; they do not constitute the result in which that life issues. In society individual persons are the parts. But these parts are superior to the whole. It is their development, their well-being, their happiness—as the schools variously phrase it—which forms the end, the object, the purpose of the collective life.

The principle of personality was neglected by the Germans to their undoing. Implied, or clearly recognized, it has been central to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, prominent among the forces which have enabled it to accomplish its work in the world. It is indispensable, moreover, that this principle be cherished as the age moves on to the tasks which loom ahead. Denial of the significance of personality, the submerging of the individual in the group, such errors will wreck democracy as surely as they have contributed to the downfall of autocratic rule. No devotion to social reform, no zeal for human betterment will save us, if we disregard the conditions on which the social health depends. And

the truth at this point, it may be repeated, is at once a principle of fact and a principle of value. In the order of existence, individual persons form the component units of the body social. The meaning of personality is the master principle, also, when society is considered according to the scale of worth.

Nevertheless, the question recurs concerning the adaptation of the individualistic tradition to the present need. More profoundly, it must be asked, does this tradition furnish an adequate interpretation of the truth? Or, in spite of its advantages, has it overlooked essential elements of the social order—factors emphasized by the opposite theory, only in an exaggerated way which has helped to bring destruction on the world? To these questions, it would seem, there can be but one reply. The traditional Anglo-Saxon view has misconceived both the evolution of society and the community in which this results. The order of development is not, first, full-grown men; secondly, the entrance of these into social relations; thirdly, a group which amounts to nothing more than the sum of the units which have thus been brought together. On the contrary, no one of these propositions is strictly accurate. Neither is the individual a complete man in isolation; nor does he first attain full manhood and then add relations to his fellows; nor is society a mere aggregate of composition.

Much of the evidence here lies directly on the surface. Man by nature is both individual and social; and his personality is grounded in his relation to other men. He is born into connections with his fellows. He lives in community with them. If by chance or through disease some individual is cut off from participation in the common life, the effect is shown in the deficient or aberrant development of his mentality. More generally, the distinctive characteristics of man are those which flourish, and flourish only, among beings who have reached the social stage. Language, morals, politics, science, art, faith—these and others like them, and the spirit whence they proceed, are the specifically human functions. But, in whole or part, they are common functions also, social functions, coefficients or results of the life which man leads in fellowship with his kind. The questions, therefore, as to how and when man entered on the social state, have of late retreated into the

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background. Or, as one recent writer has put it, there cease to be questions here. Man does not *become* social; as man he exists in association with his fellows and sustains relations with them. His living, like his thinking and his speech, is conditioned by connection with his kind.

Moreover, society is much more than a mechanical aggregate of the units who compose it. The group is made up of individuals; but in this instance—the suggestion, of course, is old—the axiom of the whole and the parts ceases to be valid. The fact of union produces, if one should not rather say, consists in a set of relations which otherwise would not subsist at all. And the reality of the system is shown by the possibility of replacing the individual parts. Respect the principle of organization, and one individual may be substituted for another without disaster to the organism as a whole. If, on the other hand, this principle is violated, it may make no difference whether the injury is done to a single member of the group or to many members; in either case the groundwork of the common life is weakened, it may even be shattered or destroyed.

Illustrations of the nature of social organization may be found in simple associations familiar in daily life. A club, an athletic team, parallels in many ways the larger social bodies; thus many a college has learned to its cost the difference between individual skill and collective effort as it has found that eleven star players do not necessarily make a star eleven. Such illustrations, no doubt, are homely ones, and imperfect in the nature of the case. As incidental associations they differ from the greater communities with which they may be compared, as well as resemble them in important respects. The club, the team, these are not permanent, but temporary groupings; they are artificial rather than natural or necessary in their origin. The greater communities, the broader phases of man's collective life, are complex and enduring; moreover, they are grounded in the nature, physical and mental, of mankind. And yet, if allowance is made for these and other points of difference, the familiar examples may supply a useful analogy for the endeavor to understand the more important social growths. Each of these, also, is greater than the

sum of the members who compose it; each adds to its members characteristics which they would lack if they lived, or could live, to themselves alone. Therefore, although the separate existence of the community is surely a mental fiction, the principle of the group, the common life, the social order is a factor abundantly real. So actual is it that, as Treitschke taught, it transcends the lives of the individual members. They pass, it endures. Judges change, the court goes on. Believers die, the Church abides. The community which we term the state is so real a thing that it is able to survive severe disturbance.

If this analysis is correct, conclusions follow radically different from views which have long been entertained. The broadest of these corollaries posits a new interpretation of the oneness of mankind. "We are members one of another," wrote the apostle long ago. And through the centuries men have tried to master the spiritual lessons which the figure implies, without perceiving that the force of the appeal depends upon a basis of reality far beyond all figurative statement. For men are members one of another not merely by way of persuasion or of an ideal of conduct, but by analysis of the literal fact. If we think, first, of the body established by the work of the Spirit, it is evident that the household of faith forms one of those groups the nature of which we have been endeavoring to explain. The Christian society is one great body with its foundation principles, its varied membership, its manifold functions, and, these fused into unity, the interrelationship of all its elements and parts. And such facts involve a mass of inferences bearing on the practical questions of the hour. They destroy completely, for example, the analysis of religion in purely individual terms. Religion is merely an individual matter, extremists sometimes argue, as they seek justification for debatable phases of their own positions. Religion, on the contrary, is both individual and social. Born in the hearts of men, existing only as a function of the lives of persons, it nevertheless forms one of the principal strands out of which the fabric of society is woven. In fine, the truth is shown by the history of religion from its lowest to its highest stages. It is a social function in the practice of the primitive tribe. It is social, also, in the organization of the

Christian Commonwealth and in the prophetic vision of the City of God.

But the Pauline phrase will cover a wider field. There are the economic foundations of society, for instance, and the industrial, or the political bases of the social order. In these respects as well we are members one of another, organically related to our fellows; so that the lot of each bears on the fate of all the rest, even as it is our duty to heed their welfare as our own. This truth, indeed, like other fundamental principles, has universal scope. It cuts both ways at once. While it enjoins compassion for members of the body social in distress, it gives these no warrant to make themselves in turn a dominating class. It fails to justify uninformed or reckless speech, even in behalf of those who most need society's help. Least of all does it furnish reasonable ground for the promotion of subversive or anarchical undertakings. These are anti-social in themselves. They attempt to improve the social fabric by cutting to pieces the tissue of which it is composed. The principle does prove the solidarity of human interests a fundamental fact. And this even beyond the limits of national existence. Were it not for recent dreary happenings, it would be unnecessary to discuss this final inference, after the world's experience of its years of war. But we are living in a period of reaction. The impetus dies down because of the simple physiological conditions of human activity. The vision which in 1917 and 1918 was at length attained fades as men turn to the quieter, but more restricted and more selfish pursuits of peace. Eventually the loss will have to be made good, for the recoil implies a patent misconception of the nature of human society and the stage of development which mankind has reached. In time it will be realized that nations, like individuals, can neither live nor die to themselves alone, that, although the Federation of the World remains an unfulfilled ideal, its coming is grounded in man's social nature as well as in human history and in the axioms of the spiritual world.

Wesleyan University.

A. C. Armstrong

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAY TALENT WITHIN THE CHURCH

With the successors of William Booth owning property valued at millions, doing a business which finds approval with thoughtful men on all five continents, and with the continued growth of the Brotherhood Movement in Britain during the past decade, the church is brought face to face with a new problem, inasmuch as neither of these movements is supported or controlled by the clergy. They are promoted by the laity and hence give rise to the question: What is the place of the laity within the church to-day? To history we turn for help.

The Early Church

Significant it is to note that the Christian Church was inspired and founded by a layman. No contemporary history ventures to indicate that Jesus was "set apart" according to the Hebrew tradition or any other preconceived notion. He was neither consecrated nor ordained for the office of the ministry after the fashion of the modern church. And so with his disciples: The women were housewives, mothers, and the wayward. The men were made up of fishermen, tax-gatherers, and similar workingmen. Priests and Levites were omitted, and one discovers in this little band no class consciousness so often stimulated by a priestly code.

Early Christianity, however, was no exception to the law of sociological impulse which ever forces the "group" to more thoroughly organize for carrying out its purpose. To promote their cause, the Christians, consciously or otherwise, soon created a special class for concentrating upon the spiritual functions of the church and left the remaining duties to others of the group. The deacon and the priest were to accomplish the religious aims, while the laity were responsible for the secular activities such as the securing money and buildings for the purposes of the church. There is no evidence that Jesus countenanced this cleavage between the

"religious" on the one hand and the "secular" on the other, for it cannot be considered very prominent at this early stage. Deacons and priests seem rather to be certain men who had more ability or time to give to the welfare of the struggling group of Christians, and hence were intrusted with the business at hand. They were not of a different species or quality from their fellows.

Growth of the Idea of the Church

With the development of the idea of an institution—of a church—the cleavage between the clergy and laity becomes more marked. The threefold teaching of poverty, obedience and chastity arising from an iron-souled asceticism laid hold of the imagination of the early centuries and contributed in no small degree toward establishing the consciousness of a class within the church group. The rise of the monastic idea promoted and strengthened the clergy as a distinct class. One could not be a monk and live as other men. Home life and the possession of property were given up in favor of the monastery, the cell, and celibacy. Monasticism made the individuals live lives quite different from other members of society, hence they soon became a class by themselves.

With the consciousness of the "church" becoming more pronounced and the institution growing, there was a corresponding increase in the emphasis upon clergy as a separate class. Members of this class were ordained with much elaborateness. Insignia were regulated for each grade, as is illustrated by the three kinds of miters bestowed by the pope upon cardinals, bishops, and abbots. The pallium, which caused so much trouble between the papacy and the early English Church, together with the bishop's crozier, were also marks of distinction for the clergy.

Deference paid the clergy served to further accentuate this class consciousness. Only the clergy baptized. They alone could legally administer the eucharist and perform the other five sacraments. The "Benefit of the Clergy" gained by that strong pope, Alexander, as a result of the murder of Becket by Henry I, and fixed in the code of 1350, forbade either secular or religious clerks to be tried for crime by any civil court. Not until 1841 was this "benefit" totally abolished in England. Yet while the

clerk was immune from secular persecution, his brothers of the laity were taxed for his support—all of which is evidence of unique privileges held in the society without the church.

Within the church the hierarchy, with its elaborately graduated offices of patriarch, metropolitan, bishop, priest, deacon, and "secular," indicated the unusual rights obtained; while the rise of the mendicant orders—resulting from the labors of the lovable Saint Francis and the fervid oratory of Saint Dominic's missionary zeal—gave the world rare scholars and mighty preachers, demonstrating that the mind of the church admitted and acquiesced in the turn which events had taken since the days of her Lord.

Most striking of all is the rise of the papacy. As early as the second century, Irenæus and Tertullian tell of the stream of Christians flocking to Rome, for it was then a strong church. The Bishop of Rome became the strongest bishop and eventually the chief bishop, whose powers, both spiritual and temporal, were so enlarged and dominating that the political leaders of a later epoch dared not check his jurisdiction. By 1438, however, the Council of Basil succeeded in taking away all papal original jurisdiction through the instrumentality of the Pragmatic Sanction. After this only exceptional appeals went to Rome.

Since the clergy promoted most of the learning at this early stage of the church's history, perhaps it was fortunate that in this respect they were favored and helped along. The point to be emphasized is: In Jesus's time there was no distinction 'twixt clergy and laity; yet at the beginning of our modern age the line was drawn both hard and fast—and the clergy possessed most of the power and privilege.

Rise of Protestantism

With the coming of the Reformation one naturally expected a change. Among the many new teachings brought into vogue was the new doctrine concerning the state. Mr. Richard Roberts, writing for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, goes so far as to say, "The Roman conception of the sanctity and authority of the state, which since the Reformation and the subsequent national-

ization and dismemberment of the church has led to an ascription of authority to the state superior to that of the church, and has in practice brought the church to regard the requirements of the state as in some sort defining the moral obligation of its own members."[1] Professor Hayes of Columbia University very properly considers "Political ambition increased in laymen" and "local pride exalted into patriotism" as important contributing causes to the revolt against Rome.[2]

It must be affirmed that from the Reformation great impetus was given to any form of thought which either implicitly or otherwise regarded the church as ancillary to the economic order and this momentum has not decreased but gained in prestige with the passing of time. In many quarters it was never so popular as today.

Any form of thought exalting the state at the expense of the church would affect the interests of the clergy. As a result of the Reformation they were weakened and deposed largely from political power. The ability of the church to interfere successfully in the affairs of state was made null and void. Simony and nepotism were done away with, *but the clergy as a caste system remained.* Luther was no democrat as the term is understood today, notwithstanding his statements regarding "every man his own priest." His actions were to the contrary, for ordination together with the other appurtenances pertaining to the aristocracy of the priesthood remained largely in *statu quo.*

In England the process was substantially the same. It was not the poverty and ignorance of the clergy that stirred John Eachard (1675) to issue his biting satires, but rather the privileges and favors granted the clergy and denied to others. This fanned his wrath and irony to a pitch that even Dryden applauded. The clergy did not justify their existence as a separate class.

The intense passion for liberty of conscience characterizing early Protestants coming to America at first seemed to eradicate the distinction between clergy and laity. Among these pioneers, the minister was of the clergy so long as he held office. On re-

[1] "The Faith for the New Age," p. 14.
[2] History of Modern Europe. Carlton J. H. Hayes, Vol. II, p. 125.

tirement he again became a layman. This custom did not long hold, and it became the practice to recognize a minister as of the clergy after his retiring. The only exception to this rule was the deposition resulting from immoral conduct.

The Counter-Reformation little affected the status of the clergy in the Roman Catholic Church. The "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," whereby the French Revolutionists sought, with a strong blow, to relieve the monks of vows, suppress their houses and reduce the clergy in general to the par of the populace, is a proof of the privileges held by the clergy under the Bourbons, which must have antagonized the laity beyond measure.

History says that the distinction between laity and clergy was not original or inherent with Christianity, but rather an abnormal development which the mediæval church fostered and which the individualism of Protestantism in no wise hindered or suppressed. That abnormality is fastened upon the church still.

"Secularizing" the Church

Of relatively recent years this movement toward "secularizing" the church has taken two forms:

1. Where the clergy would not voluntarily yield to the democratic invasion by the laity, they have been "dispossessed," as it were. In an early New England period, the minister on ceasing to function became a layman once more. But later the calling of "clergyman" was fixed and he had certain lifelong powers and influences. This "setting apart" of the minister and granting him unusual authority, which was not always wisely used, contributed in no small degree to what was virtually the "disestablishment of Congregationalism" in New England. Today the lay type of mind is so increasingly prevailing that the form of installation is frequently dispensed with and a contract to serve as minister for a stated length of time takes its place. Clerical prestige is falling.

French history tells the same story. The above-mentioned Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which for all practical purposes revoked the old Concordat with the pope, dealt the clergy a blow

which has left an impression upon the French mind. Though Napoleon renewed a papal concordat in a modified form, yet the principles of "liberty, equality and fraternity" prevailed. The clergy continued to intrench themselves as a distinct class and fortified their position against the advance of the dreaded liberalism. The Associations Bill of 1901 was the result which disestablished the Roman Catholic Church and gave the state power to confiscate one part of her property and control the other.

The disestablishment of the Church of Wales and the election of the Bishop of Saint Asaph as Archbishop of Wales, is the result of a very similar process gaining momentum during the past fifty years. Lord Justice Banks indicated the reason for the plight of the church, when, in an address at the consecration of the new Welsh archbishop, he expressed the wish that the church disestablished by Parliament might be "reestablished in the hearts of the Welsh people." Thus wherever the clergy have plotted to keep the laity from coming to a position of equality within the church, the result has been a hurt to the church.

2. The attitude toward the admitting of the laity to new privileges within the church has been in no wise one of uniform hostility. The prevailing mood has been one of welcome. As early as 1886 the arch-dioceses of Canterbury and York set up Houses of Laymen. To be sure these houses had not the privilege of legislation and were consultative bodies only. Yet the door was opened.

In America, though a layman cannot conduct all the service of the church nor speak from the pulpit, yet the laity in the Protestant Episcopal Church has practically as much power as the clergy and is represented in legislative bodies. Bishop Burch is an instance of a business man ordained and later elected to the episcopacy.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church there is a swing toward a greater democracy. The recent General Conference of this body permitted laywomen to become local preachers and removed forever the color line from any church office by electing two negroes to the episcopacy. It appointed a commission to bring in suggestions regarding the full ordination of women, and on all sides

it is loudly predicted that before long the disability may be removed which forbids the election of laymen to the episcopacy.

In organizations affiliated with the church but not under direct ecclesiastical control the laity is rapidly making itself felt. In the Epworth League, The Christian Endeavor, and the many City Missionary Societies, the laity assumes a leading role and responsibility and pays most of the bills. Influential with Bible Societies and Federations of Churches of our most prominent cities, is the laity. The Fellowship of Reconciliation was established and somewhat endowed by the laity, while in the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the efforts and direct influence of the clergy are not vital. And it seems safe to say that had the Interchurch World Movement been more in the control of such laymen as Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and others, bigotry and sectarianism might not have prevented its larger success.

The Roman Catholic Church has not remained untouched by the leaven of this movement among the laity, for though it largely bars out women, yet the Knights of Columbus offer an example of an influential and successful laity at work, though without any legal representation in the legislative councils of the church.

On every hand it appears that a battle is waging to break the bands drawn against the laity, and that the idea of the clergy as a distinct class endowed with unique privileges is being challenged to a defeat. Indeed, the clergyman today is simply a Christian man among Christian men. His brothers have delegated to him certain work which is rightfully theirs, but which, in a specialized world, they recompense him for doing. In this sense the clergy is simply the laity in action.

The Influence of Democracy

Democracy is a great leveler. It is no respecter of persons. The ignorant of a generation often are as well informed as the leaders of another previous one. What the leaders of one generation discover, the rank and file of another adopt. From this law of the intellectual world the leaders of today's religious forces

are no exception. It is possible and often probable that the man in the pew possesses more religious information than the average "eminent divine" of a century ago.

Mr. Upton Sinclair has reasoned that history clearly shows the "profits of religion" to have stimulated avarice within the hearts of the clergy and to have accounted in no small degree for the persistent quest for authority and power within the church. The growth of religious democracy is like that of political and social democracy in that it makes impossible the satisfaction coming from fulfilled desires for the control or ownership of property by a single class or group. It worked to prohibit the clergy from gaining any "profits of religion" as in the olden days.

Not only the "profits of religion," but also the question of church unity has demonstrated the influence of democracy. The behavior of the laity regarding this latter movement has been unique. Count Zinzendorf seeking to unite the divided German Protestants of Pennsylvania, Sir Thomas More providing for toleration in his Utopia, John Locke in his Letters for Toleration, Lord Baltimore, and William Penn, who not only founded religious tolerance in Pennsylvania, but also became author of The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience—all these names selected from the laity indicate that their zeal for church unity is based upon democratic and non-creedal foundations. Nolan Rice Best, editor of The Continent, has carried out the same thought when recently he insisted that "liberty then is the only hopeful platform of church union" and the attempt to make all men believe alike is sure to keep the church divided.

The priests of the altar, on the other hand, have not shown an over abundance of zeal in forwarding the cause of church unity. Even among those who advocate unity, the reasons given are not always commanding of respect. Dr. Hamilton, professor in Bishop's College, argues that "Christians of the present generation are looking for an organ of unity" and indicates that this may be found in the historic episcopate. Again he says the real problem is to unite the ministers of the churches.[1] Dr. Newman Smyth, in a splendid statement entitled, "A Proposed Approach Toward

[1] The Organ of Christian Unity. Constructive Quarterly. March, 1920, p. 5.

Unity in the United States," describes the advances Congregationalists are making toward their Episcopalian friends and plainly shows the facts of the eucharist and ordination to be uppermost in the minds of his colleagues who toil for this union.[2] In India, where heartening attempts are being put forth for church union in the Orient, we find the minds of the promoters interested in such conditions of unity as:

1. Holy Scriptures as containing all things necessary to salvation.
2. The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.
3. The two sacraments—baptism and the Lord's Supper.
4. The preservation of the historic episcopacy.

This is the proposed basis for a union between the Anglican and South India United Church.[3] In the light of this fact one understands why the world is tiring of a Christianity that is divided and a church which seems quarrelsome in its petty differences.

Since the laity has been inclined to be more sympathetic with this wave of democratic thought which now sweeps through the world, and since church unity depends for its consummation in a large measure upon the growth of this sentiment, one must assume that this unity will never come until the clergy, who advance creedal arguments, drop into the background, and the laity, who appear less concerned about belief and more concerned about spirit, come into the forefront. The development of lay talent is one remedy for the present disintegration of the Christian Church.

The present disregard for the church by the masses and by many of her own members cannot but result in a neglect of Christian ethics in social affairs both within and without the church and gives cause for grave concern. An intelligent church, having an alliance with science, stimulating the expression of thought, utilizing the press, can gain the respect of public opinion. The church will regain her proper prestige and moral authority proportionately as she actively indulges in Christian propaganda and

[2] Constructive Quarterly. March, 1920, p. 96 ff.
[3] Sherwood Eddy. Constructive Quarterly. March, 1920, p. 121.

goes more energetically into the business of forming public opinion. Professor Ellwood clearly points out that public opinion will never be formed by an institution "in which business men and laborers and bankers and professionals are omitted" while the clergy sit in the saddle.[1] A thoroughly democratized church cannot be disregarded. Partial paralysis and temporary impotency of the church will cease when the laity become as zealous for her fair name as they have been for unity among her members. The development of lay talent will bring a return of that ancient moral and religious authority.

A third serious problem confronting the church is that of producing a new generation which shall be truly Christian. Not only the future peace and prosperity, but the very existence of the church itself, makes the undertaking of this task imperative. The rise and development of the idea of religious education with the emphasis it receives, indicates that the church is alert to the issue, But it also lucidly says that the teacher, and not the priest, is to determine the immediate future. The supply of the clergy being limited, it is necessary to recruit from the ranks of the laity for the teaching profession, and the laity generously sponsors the move. The coming generation cannot be educated as Christian without developing the lay talent within the church.

Thus in facing the three great problems confronting the church, one is forced to conclude that the only solution rests in the application of a thoroughgoing democracy which issues a summons to the laity for greater service and breaks down the fence about the clergy.

The Future With a Responsible Laity

What will be the upshot of this? Only a guess can be ventured. Where the clergy have failed to influence great business executives who sit upon the boards of the church and her societies, the laity may succeed. If laymen recruited from the ranks of both capital and labor become interested in the supreme issues of the Kingdom of God, it should be possible for the church to speak in a clearer voice than has yet been heard to this industrial

[1] C. A. Ellwood. Journal of Religious Education, April, 1920.

chaos about us. Seldom have the clergy been composed of adept politicians. A larger control of the church by the laity should result in a church wiser and more practical in the political solutions she ventures to give a befuddled world. Our diplomacy too often betrays our religion as being but a thinly veneered bit of paganism; and our statesmanship, which now shows how far we have to go to inculcate a sense of honesty and mutual good will into the human heart, will be purified more rapidly when the will of the laity is bent to the load.

Then too, we have the eternal question of the church *versus* the state. To which comes the first loyalty? In the past war religious loyalty was unquestionably subordinated to national loyalty. Men did not ask: What does the Spirit of Christ command? They rather questioned: What does the state demand? The Spirit of Jesus Christ must be exalted above the state. With the coming of the laity into influence, this exaltation of Him should be advanced, for the layman would be a citizen not only of the state but also of the Kingdom of God and would be in a position to wittingly give the state the loyalty it ought to have, and, at the same time, to give the Kingdom the allegiance it ought to have. The present confusion could not remain 'twixt the loyalties toward the state and toward the church.

So we have the lay talent in the church. In the past it has been neglected and subordinated. In the future it will be cultivated and developed; and with the coming of its strength a new power will be given the church, a power fitting her to minister to a new age to which she is not yet entirely adapted, but of which she shall yet be the saviour. The church will adequately meet the problems confronting her when the lines between the clergy and laity cease to be so sharp and when her membership is composed of just men and women disciples.

Robert Leonard Tucker

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND AMERICANIZATION

Americanization is a word which is on every lip in our land to-day. Has religious education any vital relation to it?

When a visitor to ancient Sparta asked, "Where are your walls, your fortifications?" the inquirer was told to look at her citizens. These were her walls, her defense. Roman fortifications were never so numerous as when she fell, but the heart and sinews of her people had decayed.

National greatness for any nation requires an intelligent, moral, efficient body of citizens. Whether such a body can be prepared without religious education is one of the problems of this paper. There is an old theory that self-interest is the sufficient law of any democracy. If people do the thing that is for their best interests, they will be considerate of each other. But this theory, though still held by some, soon gave way to a plea for enlightened self-interest. While it is true that enlightened self-interest involves fairness, even love for one's neighbor, yet it requires enlightenment to make this possible, to show men and women what is for their best interest. Our nation to-day is working on the theory of enlightened self-interest. Our public schools and state institutions of higher learning are training a generation to know what is right and the percentage of illiteracy in this country is low. While this is cause for congratulation, our leadership in other fields is not so commendable. In homicides and divorce we lead all the so-called civilized world. There are enough vicious movements with a following in our land to lead any citizen to despair of the future unless he can glimpse the counteracting forces. I have heard street preachers loudly proclaiming that there is no such thing as genuine faithful service to others, that no man who is sensible will try to be fair to his employer and to himself at the same time: therefore progress must come by the present "under dog" getting on top and eating up the other classes (of dogs) as fast as he can. Not long ago a woman in Minneapolis is reported to have declared before a club of fashionable women that no baby is worth the pain which it cost

the mother at birth, and made her plea, not for better medical science to relieve a mother's suffering, but that the race be restocked by the so-called lower classes, who are thought to be less sensitive to pain.

It is the old theory in new dress. Might makes right; there is no sin except failure to get all the enjoyment you can at the expense of the other fellow. To oppose the movements of which these are but types, what have we? The public school, you answer quickly. And right royally the public school men and women are working, but who does not see that they are swamped by contending agencies, that the task if imposed upon their shoulders alone is impossible?

The late former Assistant District Attorney Moss frequently pointed out that the gunmen convicted for the murder of Rosenthal in New York were the product of our public schools, that is, either graduates of the high school or advanced students in the system. This was not intended by him as a criticism of the public schools, but as an effort to arouse Christian people to face the situation which confronts them. The nation does well to be proud of its public school system. Its thousands of superintendents, principals, and teachers are as loyal and competent a body of patriots as the nation has, and their work is improving steadily; but the thoughtful among them know that their work is not enough to give to the nation the moral fiber which it needs.

Before considering the methods and work of religious education, let us think briefly of three movements in our American life which seem destined, if wisely guided, to mold the life of the future. They are State education, socialism, and religious education. It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the rapid growth of State educational institutions, but certainly one cause for the rapid rise of State universities is the American passion for efficiency.

This passion has its strong points and its dangers. The danger is not a theory but an experience. In the onward rush for efficiency, things become more important than ideals or any other spiritual values. People worship what Booth Tarkington in "The Turmoil" would call "Bigness." To be sure, bigness has more

spiritual value than the worship of mere money or physical pleasure, but it is a poverty-stricken place to worship. Its dome does not open to the skies, it has no comfort or inspiration for any but the strong. At the same time, the danger is not all with the people who worship "things." Multitudes who cultivate "spiritual values" have so neglected things as to make the people with whom they live most uncomfortable. "Mother, where do people go when they die who are good but disagreeable?" asked a little girl. We would all like to know so as to avoid that place, for we have seen enough of those people in our home towns. We believe that the very best character values are achieved by those who do things, but who do them out of love for God and their fellow men.

The writer was surprised a few years ago while on a tour inspecting educational institutions in Palestine to find a similar situation, between so-called secular schools and religious schools among both the Mohammedans and the Jews to that which is seen here between state and church schools. In each case the religious schools have a reputation for trying to inculcate, first of all, love for a creed, while the state schools are supposed to cultivate mainly a passion for efficiency. The race which will be strongest in the future is the one which can blend these two passions.

All the newer education urges us to learn by doing. If this is true, our culture must come by some sort of doing. What our American men and women need most in this particular is earnestness and patience enough to be thorough, to acquire just as much background as possible from a study of achievements in ages gone by and to apply this knowledge diligently to the problems of everyday life. Let us get our culture in terms of what we can use, let us measure our culture not by our memories but by our habits.

There is no question about the future growth of state institutions. The universities are great now and will become greater. The high schools are now reaching out and becoming junior colleges of arts as well as business colleges. But with expansion we should never forget that even enlightened self-interest will never make a competent patriot. It takes an eye of love to be a really discerning eye. It takes a will guided by love for the highest

ideal and supported by right habits to keep even an intellectual genius as a wholesome public benefactor.

Socialism is not so successful a factor in our American life, but it is an undercurrent of ever-increasing force. You may not agree with this interpretation, leading socialists would scorn it; but to me the profoundest significance of socialism at this time is not its economic program but its moral power. The passion for efficiency is being given a new motive outside of religious circles. Men realize that if increased efficiency means increased power to the strong and degeneracy to the weak, the world would be happier without it. There is also a feeling that the men in power are not there altogether by sheer merit, but because of unfair advantages received either by inheritance or because of our present industrial laws. Hence the program for common ownership of the tools of industry, permitting each man or woman to use them with all the ability which is in him. People at large are not quite sure of the economic program. But they are in a mood to experiment with it. That the present industrial order is wrong they know, and a new one radically different might be better. The question which divides those who seek a change is this: Shall the change come gradually or immediately?

Here again every discerning man knows that the success of this depends upon the morals of the men and women who work it. How many failures have come from good plans because there have not been the proper moral resources back of them. The writer was in Turkey for several months when the Young Turk movement was being put to its most crucial test. His opinion is that it was an honest effort on the part of many to modernize and rejuvenate a badly decayed empire. When first introduced the multitudes were happy. "Now prosperity will come at once," they said, and the first elections were held by a people delirious with joy. I saw the representatives sent by the second election leave Jerusalem. But the people had no such enthusiasm as the first time. Their stomachs had been just as empty under the new regime as before. And their liberties, if anything, had been even more curtailed. Because under a tyrant the probability is that people will be allowed to do much as they please until a need

arises. Then the screws can be put down without any limitations. The fact is that the movement, though worthy, was largely a failure before the Italian, Balkan, and World War stopped it. The Young Turks, in order to carry their program forward, found it necessary to be almost as tyrannical as Abdul Hamid.

Why? The people were not competent to conduct a liberal government. One story was told of a Turkish judge whose salary had been about $40 under the old regime. It was made $2,000 under the new, and he complained. "It is very little," he said, because he knew that this was *all* he could get, not just a starter to be supplemented by extortion. A similar trouble is going on in China and other countries to-day. In history who will deny that the French Revolution degenerated into an appalling crime not because the people's intentions were bad, but because they did not have the moral discipline to control themselves, nor the higher quality of love for all, even for their former persecutors.

We have discussed two of the factors, a new program of efficiency, a new motive which is a passion for fair play, and the third is a new interpretation of religion as exemplified in the movement for religious education. It will be seen at once that the religion here under consideration is not the renunciation of all human interests for the sake of joys to come, nor an emotional debauch, but a life patterned after the ideals of the Bible. Micah defined it as follows: "What doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Jesus spoke of it as "the abundant life," and in another place defined it as loving God with all the heart and one's neighbor as himself.

Fellowship with God and love for men are the marks of our religion, a religion with a wealth of emotional experience, but emotion inseparably linked (both as cause and effect) with right habits. Is there anything needed more in our American life than such a religion? A few people may love duty and harmony in the abstract, but when closely analyzed you will find that this passion usually comes from seeing duty and harmony in the concrete, somewhere in real life.

In Dorothy Canfield's novel The Bent Twig the hero is trying to explain the ideals which guide him. His family and

friends think they are worshipers of beauty, chiefly as expressed in art, good clothes, and exquisite surroundings. But that does not satisfy him, and he gropes for another kind of beauty. "There is another kind of beauty I faintly glimpse that isn't just sweet smells and lovely sights and harmonious lives, it's the beauty that can't endure disharmony of conduct, the fine true ear for the loveliness of life lived at its best—Sylvia, finest, truest Sylvia, it's what you could, if you would—you more than any other woman in the world—if we were together to try. . . . Well, let's see. I think I mean that perhaps our race, not especially inspired in its instinct for color and external form, may possibly be fumbling toward an art of living. Why wouldn't it be an art to keep your life in drawing as well as a mural decoration?" He broke off to say, laughing, "I bet you the technique would be quite as difficult to acquire. . . . In this modern maze of terrible closeness of interrelation, to achieve a life that's happy and useful and causes no untold suffering to the untold numbers of others which touch it—isn't that an undertaking which needs the passion for harmony and proportion? Isn't there a beauty as a possible ideal of aspiration for a race that probably never could achieve a Florentine or Japanese beauty of line?"

A beauty of character worked out in wonderful achievements of service for the world is the best goal for our American life. But there is only one factor which ever made this doctrine a vital force in the world. When it became embodied in Jesus of Nazareth and was handed down to be molded into the affections and wills of others, then this ideal began to be realized.

The interpretation of religion just given is both new and old. It is not original with this generation. It is the oldest and purest strain of religion, running back through the New and Old Testaments, a religion of deeds by men and women in fellowship with God, but a strain which has been in partial eclipse in some generations. The rise and fall of this form of religion depends very much upon education. A purely emotional religion may not need much education for its background, but a religion of emotion tested by habits of service requires most careful habit cultivation.

People who are unsympathetic to Christianity point to the

imperfections of Christians and say, "Hypocrite." It would be nearer the truth to point the finger of scorn at these stumbling blocks and say, "Incompetent." Most Christians who have come under our observation have meant well. They can find excuses plausible to themselves for all their conduct, but they have never been disciplined to know truth from falsehood when it comes to everyday business and social life. They say, "Can I not do what I will with my own?" when the Christian's answer is plainly, "No, you must do to others as you would have others do to you." The answer to "Am I my brother's keeper?" is "Yes!" in the Bible, plainly. But people have only recently been trained in any large numbers to think that way and they do not know how to treat their brothers and sisters in the factory or the store or the kitchen.

Every great movement must depend upon an educational policy to support it if it is to be permanent. The greatest emphasis of the Bible is upon the training of the people. "Hear, O Israel: Jehovah our God is one Jehovah: and thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates." Deut. 6. 4-9.

Who doubts that the perpetuation of the Jewish race has been largely due to the fidelity with which this injunction has been kept?

When we come to Jesus of Nazareth we find that practically his whole ministry was spent in teaching. The title which he accepted everywhere was "rabbi," which means teacher. He had little to show at the time of his death except eleven faithful, trained men. In fact, he clearly did not try to win multitudes, but left that for his trained helpers to accomplish. The history of the church with respect to education is familiar ground. The church has never neglected this field, and there are few educational institutions to-day whose rise does not go back to Christian sources.

But in our day the need is particularly pressing for a specific type of religious training. The need of the nation for a race motived by love for God and his laws I have mentioned. That institutions are needed to promulgate this motive therefore becomes axiomatic. But what of these institutions? There never was a time when the church so greatly needed a multitude of highly trained workers as to-day. This passion for efficiency does not stop when people think of the church. They demand that the church be efficient in whatever it undertakes. If the church is going to teach, people want its workers to teach at least as well as other people, if not better—a demand which applies to Sunday schools as well as to colleges and seminaries. If the church is going to administer relief to the poor, they demand a scientific as well as a sympathetic administration. If the church is going to exercise authority in the field of recreation, they demand that it shall speak and act constructively, not negatively.

It would not be hard to cite the incompetence of hundreds of churches, nor hard to give some of the reasons for this. The members have too often taken one verse, "Ask, and ye shall receive," and forgotten to supplement it with the parable of the talents. Thus, missionaries have even tried to master foreign languages by prayer, instead of praying that their intellects may be quickened in their study of grammar.

It is true that most of the churches have had high educational standards for their ministers and teachers in schools of higher learning, but any serious effort to train laymen for specific Christian tasks outside of their means of livelihood has scarcely yet begun in the Protestant churches. A recent survey shows that to-day most of the denominational colleges and seminaries are doing vastly more in their curricula to provide the state with the teachers which the state needs for its public schools than to provide the church which supports them with competent teachers, administrators, etc., which it needs in the local communities. The recognition of this condition is becoming general, and a reform is on the way.

But even if our colleges and seminaries become efficient in this particular, the need will not be met until there are institu-

tions for training in religion in every community. The state recognizes that its schools of higher learning can never train the great majority of citizens, and the church faces the same condition. Hence the new movement to make the Sunday school the real training school for the local church, preparing its members young and old for the definite tasks which the church feels itself responsible for performing.

The old type of Sunday school, who can describe it? As some one has said, "Its teachers were selected along the lines of least resistance." Good intentions were accepted as a sufficient qualification. Many of the teachers thought and said, "I think if I keep the boys off the street for an hour, that is doing good service." The pupils themselves were either loosely graded or not graded at all. Thirteen-year-old boys and seventy-year old men not infrequently sat in the same class, expected to compare their interpretations of verse after verse. Babes and grandpas all studied the same lesson whether it was on David's sin, Solomon's temple, the Christ child, or the sins of the Romans. If any objection was made to this classification of pupils or uniform lesson material, it was met by the answer, "Religion is very different from other subjects; it comes down from above by miracle."

The only answer to this old type of Sunday school is that it did not work. To be sure it helped multitudes, for here and there a real genius of a teacher was better than his system and did great work, but more often the pupils learned little and were lost to the school and church before they were sixteen.

The new Sunday school has developed its theories and teachings by processes of induction rather than by deduction. It begins with the child and asks, "What are the instincts and interests with which the Almighty has endowed him? How can these capacities for growth be watered and fed and exercised until the young life comes to fruit-bearing maturity?" Men and women all over the country were carefully grading their pupils and selecting special lesson material for each group long before the International Graded Lessons were published, and many of these lessons were first tried out to see the actual results upon pupils of a given age before they were ever offered to the public. The new institutions

also enlarged some of the old conceptions of the Sunday school. The old idea that it was primarily a recruiting station for the church was broadened. Definite attention was given to the winning of recruits, even whole courses were planned to catch the religious interest at the crest of the wave, for instance at twelve and fifteen years when so many commit their lives to Jesus Christ. But the new Sunday school leaders said, "Getting recruits is only the beginning of our task. Our Lord won his twelve recruits early in his ministry, then his real work began."

Another conception to be broadened was the idea of the older Sunday school as exclusively a Bible school, by which it was meant that every lesson should have a biblical title whether the Bible was actually taught or not. The only logical practice based upon such a theory would be to limit Bible study to the memorizing of Bible verses and facts, because, of course, the minute one tries to interpret his Bible as a guide for modern life he must introduce temperance, missions, and many other aspects of everyday Christian service. For a little while there was much opposition to a lesson on John B. Gough or Frances Willard, even though it had a biblical passage for devotional reading. The old-school leaders preferred to call the lesson "The Drunkards of Ephraim," even though they were really studying Frances Willard; or they preferred to teach a lesson on "David and Goliath" as a missionary topic rather than to accept a lesson on David Livingstone, who so completely carried out our Lord's commission.

It is said that a teacher was once having a very hard time with "David and Goliath" as a missionary lesson when she finally asked the class in the old-fashioned way, "Now, boys, what missionary truth does the lesson suggest to you?" A long silence followed. Finally one boy waved his hand and answered, "I'll bet Goliath said to himself, 'That little Sheeny wasn't so easy as I thought he was.'"

But, to shorten the story, the modern Sunday schools believe in three things. First, Graded pupils. Lessons to suit each grade, lessons to prepare each pupil for the definite tasks which he, a seven or a fourteen-year-old, should perform.

Secondly, Training in actual service, which is simply an

application of the principle, "We learn by doing," and finds Sunday school expression in the organized class, the athletic teams, kindness to the sick, shut-ins, etc., and giving to world-wide benevolent enterprises. Practice in carrying responsibility is emphasized.

Thirdly, Teachers in training. The experiences which happen all the time with untrained teachers would be ridiculous if they were not tragic. But when we think how well a boy is taught his mathematics, his grammar, his physics, and how poorly he often gets his education in religion, one wonders why Christianity has the hold which it does have on the world. Said a young man in a great American city one day, "So you believe the time is coming when Sunday school teachers will be trained in a measure at least as public school teachers are?" "Precisely," came the answer. "That time may be long in coming, but it is certainly on the way." Quick as a flash his wife spoke up: "When that time comes our boy can go to Sunday school. I wouldn't let him go to a school where the work is as poorly done as it was where I went when a girl." This mother is typical of a multitude who are watching the new Sunday school to see if it will make good.

Can it make good? It has an open field, few enemies, and almost universal good will. It has the pupils to be taught and ample materials for the purpose of study. At present it lacks sufficient time, competent teachers, and any compulsory discipline. The last is probably the least of its handicaps, since the pupils who attend regularly do so because the work is made interesting. Competent teachers can be secured because we have the material to draw from. There will need to be a general awakening to the urgent importance of this training before the supply is adequate, but once public sentiment demands good Sunday school teachers as it does to-day good public school teachers the demands will be met.

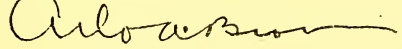
"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers, Lo, thou must,
The youth replies, I can."

The present older generation of Sunday school teachers

will not meet this need—their habits are largely fixed—but youth will.

The lack of sufficient time is an obstacle to be frankly faced. It is impossible to do in one hour out of the week all that is required for the religious training of the coming race. The public school has thirty hours or more a week and the Sunday school only one. The one is not enough. However, it is enough for a good beginning, and when we once learn how to use this hour competently it will not be difficult to secure more time. Some are inclined to seek more time on Sunday. That is not impossible, though perhaps inexpedient. What seems to the writer to be better, is to secure each child a two-hour period, or two one-hour periods during the week wherever churches are ready to supply the teachers. This is done to-day in Gary, Ind., and other schools which do not follow the so-called Gary time schedule without any infringement of the right of either church or state. If the public school curriculum gives to the home enough of the pupil's time when he is unfatigued, the home can send him to a church school, and the state has no conflict whatsoever with the church school work. This is actually being done to-day in Gary.

No one needs to be told that it is a great day in which to live. What we do need to be told, however, is how to live, how to invest our talent so as to achieve the greatest possible good to the world. For the true test of national greatness is the same as the true test of individual greatness—service. The present unpopularity of this ideal as a national policy is a warning to every Christian. We can produce in America a generation with passion and skill for serving the world, but we can do so only by developing a policy of religious education for the nation which will give the opportunity for effective Christian training to the last boy and girl in every church parish.



SOME ASPECTS OF DANTE'S MORAL SYSTEM

"King, that hast reign'd six hundred years, and grown
In power, and ever growest, since thine own
Fair Florence honoring thy nativity,
Thy Florence now the crown of Italy,
Hath sought the tribute of a verse from me,
I, wearing but the garland of a day,
Cast at thy feet one flower that fades away."

So does Tennyson—to whom many would award the title of the greatest of the modern poets—reach across the centuries and pay his tribute to the immortal Florentine. Poets have ever found in Dante a fount of inspiration. It is also true that all those who have to do with the things of the spirit will find him an unfailing source of comfort and strength. Every spiritual teacher will do well to know how this prophet systematizes and sets forth the moral universe. Once we get to know him, then our mood easily expresses itself in the language of Lowell. It is "always Dante, always Dante."

It is a common experience, in the days of childhood, to make an acquaintance with Dante's Inferno by being attracted to the pictures of Gustave Doré. As we have turned over the pages of the bulky volume there came with it a shudder of horror. When we grew older we attempted to read the text. Perhaps something of the same feeling lingered. But here is a masterpiece in which perseverance yields great rewards. When the day came that we walked through the "Inferno" with Dante for our guide, even as he had Virgil for his own, when we sought to see the realm of the "truly dead" with his eyes and not our own, then what before seemed to hold no promise of beauty yielded its secret. It then became clear why in every generation to the end of time there will always be those that love and care for Dante.

His work is called a "Divine Comedy." At first blush the title seems entirely wrong. It is neither divine nor a comedy. But in the age that Dante lived a comedy was a serious composition depicting human existence or truth that ended happily.

"Divine" was an adjective of worth that posterity soon fastened to his masterpiece.

One of the keywords explaining the "Inferno" would be Justice. Dante seeks to present the working of divine justice in the spiritual realm. Around that idea of justice he builds his theme. It is of no blind and arbitrary justice that he treats. It is of the justice that comes from the working of God's unchanging and eternal laws. Also, it is the working out to a logical conclusion of the inner processes of one's own life. Here we see how irresistibly and inevitably certain forces propel the life to a certain goal. One's fate is one's own. There is an inner necessity for justice shared by God and man alike.

> "Justice moved my Great Maker to build me.
> The Divine Omnipotence, the Highest Wisdom
> and the Primal Love made me. . . ."

We are concerned in this article with a consideration of some moral aspects of Dante's system. It is now ten years since W. H. V. Reade, of Oxford, published his book under the title The Moral System of Dante's Inferno. While it is true that this is a special treatment of the Inferno, his conclusions are so divergent from those of the Dante students before him who have attempted to deal with this phase of the poem that it is rather surprising that the result of his investigation does not appear more largely in the recent literature on Dante. The acknowledgment of indebtedness to him is heartily made, and the writer can only expect to embody some of the results reached in the work of Professor Reade with the hope that they may have that wider recognition which is deserved. The conclusions of Professor Reade must be known if the gradations of punishment in the Inferno and the moral theory by which they are supported are to be adequately understood. Not only the greater human interest centers about Dante's Inferno, but we must turn to it in order to understand the main outlines of his moral system.

To say that Dante's masterpiece is the most systematic of all the great productions of literature is merely saying over again what appears in nearly every work on Dante. In working out that

system Dante is not only debtor to the Jew and the Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, but to every system of thought that has come down to his day. But most of all he is indebted to Thomas Aquinas. He leans so heavily upon the "Summa Theologia" that the phrase "Aquinas in verse" is accurate enough. He is not only indebted to the Angelic Doctor for the conventional scholastic philosophy, but he gets his Aristotle through him. There is no slavish imitation of Aquinas; Dante was too great an artist and man for that, but there is no difficulty that arises in the interpretation of the Divine Comedy but a study of the "Summa Theologia" yields light. There were many things in the thought and practice of the church of his day with which he differed, but like the Modernist in the Roman Catholic Church of to-day (with whom Dante would have a peculiar feeling of sympathy), he was a true son of the church.

It readily engages our attention in reading the Divine Comedy that there are certain sins found in Purgatory that are not found in Hell. Upon the terraces of Purgatory we find in ascending order the seven capital vices—pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice (which always includes the corresponding excess, prodigality), gluttony, lust. In the Inferno, on the other hand, lust, gluttony, avarice, and anger are unmistakeably indicated, but pride, envy, and sloth are seemingly not in evidence in hell. The question naturally arises: Why does one set of sins qualify men for purgatory and the other for hell?

Thomas Aquinas furnishes the answer. In his doctrine a sin is to be judged by its final intent. In human courts we are judged by the consequences of our acts; the overt act itself is the criterion to determine the punishment to be imposed. But it is not so with divine justice. According to that standard the moral classification of an act depends on the intention of the agent. What end did the guilty one have in mind when the act was committed? For instance, a man may steal in order that he may acquire the means to carry out his purpose to commit adultery. In that case he is to be judged by the end that he had in view and classified accordingly, namely, adulterer. Aquinas calls attention, however, to the fact that the means as well as the end must be

good. No kind of sophistry can convert an evil act into a good one. It can readily be understood why Thomas Aquinas has been opposed by the Jesuits.

The reason why we do not find pride, envy, and sloth in the lower circles of hell is that, owing to the nature of these sins, their end is something else than pride, or envy, or sloth. They produce certain sinful effects which do not resemble the inward causes and in judging them by the end in view we are led to look for their real objective in the other capital sins.

Dante divides hell into two great divisions in which are punished sins due to incontinence and sins due to malice. The former are due to infirmity of will; the latter to perversity of will. In the lower circles of hell the sins of malice are punished. In the upper circles, and therefore less serious in their gravity, the sinners of passion are fixed. It comes to us with a great deal of surprise that the bestial sins are not the most reprehensible. According to this standard the sot picked up out of the gutter, or the lecherous victim of sexual passion, is by no means as black a sinner as the man who plays the more refined forms of iniquity into which a greater element of will and intellect have their part. That the sins of the intellect are greater than the sins of passion is axiomatic with Aquinas, and the Inferno is an extended commentary of the principle. To quote here from Reade: "The vices most animal in character are the monsters which the knight-errant must slay in the early days of his pilgrimage; spiritual death awaits those who fall captive to them and the loss of the heavenly vision. But to conquer them is no more than to gain entrance to the realm of the spirit where trials infinitely harder must be encountered. Only those who have mastered the moral virtues are capable of the spiritual sins. If the young ruler had not from his youth up observed the precepts of the law he would not have been asked to sell his goods and seek treasure in heaven. The Divine Comedy will never be intelligible unless we remember that there is a difference between the verdicts of polite society and the morality of the gospel."

Thomas Aquinas sets forth the reasons why sins of malice are worse than sins of passion. First, sins of malice are primarily

of the will. Second, malicious sins indicate a fixed habit in a way that sins of incontinence do not. Third, malice has an evil end beyond the mere gratifying of the sin itself. The sins of malice are threefold. They all involve injury as their end. There is the class of sins involving injury by use of violence. This class will be found in the seventh circle of hell. In the next circle, and therefore more serious in their gravity, are the malicious sins involving the use of fraud. In the last circle of hell, bringing to a focus all the total of iniquity, are the sinners of malice into whose transgressions the element of treacherous fraud enters. Treachery to Dante—the betraying of a sacred trust—is the greatest of sins. Therefore, it is at the lowest point, and closest to Satan, that we naturally find Judas.

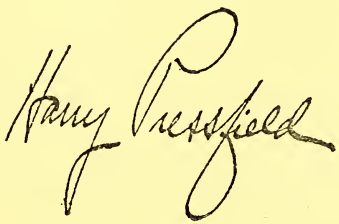
Although the seven capital vices may be found in purgatory there can be no similar classification of the sins of purgatory into the divisions of incontinence and malice. Sins of incontinence there may be, but it is apparent that whoever dies in a state of malice cuts himself off from the hope of salvation. No one can reach the mount of purgatory unless there is the disposition of repentance. An attitude of malice automatically bars the way and sends the guilty to the proper circle of hell.

It is usually a difficulty with the reader to estimate Dante's purpose in putting the heretics in the sixth circle of hell. At first it seems as if it were a merely arbitrary assignment, Dante hardly knowing what to do with them. But Reade calls attention that careful study will indicate that it is the logical place. The heretics are placed midway between the sins of passion and malice for the reason that their guilt may partake of either or both. The more the intellectual element plays in their sin, and to the extent that injury becomes their end, the sin becomes wanton. But there may also be an impulsive element about heresy which mitigates the offense and gives the sinner a more desirable place in the sixth circle. The absence of heresy from purgatory is evident enough. No man who dies a heretic can possibly be admitted to purgatory. If he repents and is absolved his place in purgatory will depend upon the capital vice which originally led him into sin.

The medieval system rested back on the verse in James:

"Whoso keepeth the whole law, and yet offendeth in one point, breaketh all." Because of the unity of the virtues, it was reasoned, there is a corresponding unity of the vices. Thomas Aquinas attacks this doctrine. The responsibility of sin always has to do with the will. Virtue is an acquired habit, built up by a series of actions. It can only be expelled by the formation of a contrary habit. Very stolidly does Aquinas set himself against the prevailing doctrine that one vice carries all others along with it, for if after any transgression there may be the inclination to good, it is proof that the contrary vice, displacing the virtue, has not been entirely established. The sinners we meet in the different circles of the Inferno are not eternally sentenced to their place on the basis of impulsive and occasional transgressions. We are often reminded that Dante's hell has no doors or locks. The guilty are free to go out. It is tragically significant. Go where they may it would still be true that what makes hell is not a thing of the outer environment but a fact of the inner life.

We are far removed from the day of Dante. The scholastic theology is no more useful to our day than the Ptolemaic astronomy in which it believed. But Dante's poem transcends his age as all great poetry does. We regard the medieval doctrine as incidental. Rooting his masterpiece in certain fundamental and eternal truths the moral appeal becomes tremendous because he lets us see how these truths affect the eternal human destiny. We read his poem and we close the book, but we cannot forget how great is the freedom of the human soul, how sublime is moral responsibility, how terrible is sin.



THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEA OF FELLOWSHIP

In considering the New Testament idea of fellowship, we are placed at a disadvantage; for our field of inquiry has been so well explored. Theologians of every school have surveyed its bounds, taken its bearings, and measured the angles of its divergence, so that we can scarcely hope to discover anything new. But trite as our subject is, it should have for us a special and permanent interest, for the field of "fellowship" is one that we, as Methodists, have pre-empted, and over which we have a sort of prescriptive right. We have blazoned "fellowship" on our church standards; it is our distinctive sign; indeed, so all-important is "fellowship" that we have fashioned out of it, as from the famous Corinthian brass, the gate of our temple, admitting none to its inner courts who cannot frame our shibboleth.

Our first and chief inquiry then will be as to the meaning of the New Testament word, *κοινωνία*, which is the Greek equivalent to our word "fellowship." But before we pass to this there is a group of related words, growing from the same root stem, whose meaning will throw some light upon the higher word we wish now to study. First of all we have the adjective *κοινός*, which meant "common," or "in common," as in the Epistle to Titus 1. 4, where the apostle speaks of the "common faith"; and again, as we read in Jude, v. 3, of a "common salvation." This is its only meaning in earlier profane Greek; but as words, like birds in their long flight, have a tendency to drop down from the general to the specific, this word, to the eclectic Hebrew mind, had soon the lower and darker meaning, as of something "unclean," "defiled." Its primitive meaning, however, was something "unappropriated," something that could not be a personal property, but was free and open to others, or to all. Then we have the word *κοινωνός*, meaning a companion, a partner. It was a conjunctive word, joining together two or more subjects, as having a certain quality, or thing in common. The word *κοινωνία* has a similar meaning—to become a participator, a sharer or companion, indicating a commonness or identity of interest. The

whole group of words thus marks off a certain relation between separate subjects; they show an overlapping of interests, a prescribed circle in which possessions and aims are common, identical.

Turning now to the larger word *κοινωνία*, it expresses the same idea; but consecrated to a higher use, it is a word set apart, almost exclusively, to describe the relations of Christian life and society. The word is used nineteen times in the New Testament. In eleven instances it is rendered by our word "fellowship," in four by the word "communion," in two by the word "communication," while once it is rendered by the word "distribution," and once as "contribution." Six times the word is used to indicate the Christian's relationship with God, as in 1 John 1. 3: "And truly our *fellowship* is with the Father, and with His Son, Jesus Christ"; and again, 1 Cor. 1. 9: "Ye were called into the *fellowship* of his Son"; and again, Phil. 2. 1: "If any *fellowship* of the Spirit"; and 2 Cor. 13. 14: "The *communion* of the Holy Ghost be with you all." Now in all these cases, though it may be difficult to define exactly what the word does mean, it cannot possibly have the narrower meaning we attach to the word *"fellowship,"* as an interchange of so-called experience. The divine fellowship covers the whole of that life of the soul, the life which is hid with Christ in God, when, after the new genesis, or the regeneration, man is at one with God, his spirit consciously touched by the Divine Spirit, his will configuring itself to the Divine Will, until thoughts and desires, and the life itself, are caught up into the higher drift of the Divine purpose. The word includes the lesser meaning of direct, personal intercourse, as Father, Son, and Spirit make their abode in the surrendered heart; but it includes the wider meaning, the thousand modes of helpfulness that fellowship with God, our alliance with the Divine, will bring.

In 1 Cor. 10. 16, we have a slightly different though related meaning attached to the word *κοινωνία*, as the apostle asks: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the *communion* of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the *communion* of the body of Christ?" Here the word evidently means a joint partaking of the body and blood of Christ. It is not

simply an expression of union with Christ; it is a com-union; namely, a union in common with others. And that this fellowship idea was prominent in the mind of the apostle is evident from the verse which follows: "For we being many are one bread (or one loaf): for we are all partakers of that one Bread." The communion is thus the expression of a double fellowship: their fellowship with Christ, their participation in the benefits of his passion, and, as a result of this, their fellowship with each other.

We turn now to those passages, ten in number, where the word is used to express the relation of Christians to each other. Writing to the Galatians 2. 9, Paul speaks of his own earlier experiences, how some years after his conversion he went up to Jerusalem, and he says: "When James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of *fellowship.*" Now here we find an inner circle of fellowship, a fellowship within a fellowship; for this, we must bear in mind, was not Paul's introduction to the church, for he had preached Christ for seventeen years, while he once was a guest in Peter's house for fifteen days. But his apostleship had not been recognized. Seen through the refractory atmosphere of Jerusalem, he was no apostle, but simply an impulsive and somewhat erratic leader of the Forward Movement. Now, however, they could but recognize his Divine credentials; and late though it was—seventeen years after Ananias had welcomed him within the church, saluting him as "brother Saul"—the apostles in Jerusalem gave him the right hand of fellowship. It was a fellowship of labor; that association of kindred souls, who, fired by one purpose, directed by one Spirit, went their separate ways to preach a common faith, and to build up on earth the New Jerusalem, the city of God, whose gates of light should open to welcome the gathering tribes. This was a fellowship that knew no bounds of space. Mountains could not sever it, distance could not weaken its bonds; the sacred brotherhood of Service could not be broken.

We find the word *κοινωνία*, three times used to indicate some tangible expressions of Christian fellowship, as in Rom. 15. 26, "For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a

certain *contribution* for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem." In 2 Cor. 8. 4, the apostle says how they prayed him with much entreaty to take upon himself the *"fellowship* of the ministering to the saints"; while again, in 2 Cor. 9. 13, he speaks of the liberal *"distribution"* the Corinthian Christians have made to their poorer brethren at Jerusalem. Here then is a fellowship which is expressed, not in words at all, but in deeds, in gifts of sympathy and love. It is not the narrow fellowship of the individual members of some isolated church, but the wider fellowship, which, ignoring the rage of Euroclydons and the stormy Aegean, binds in a close and indissoluble union the saints of Corinth and the saints of Jerusalem.

John, in his first epistle, lingers lovingly over the word *"fellowship,"* using it four times in the first four sentences. We have already referred to the Divine fellowship of which he speaks, and so now we need only refer to the human fellowship he mentions. He says, 1. 3, "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have *fellowship* with us"; and again in verse 7, "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have *fellowship* one with another." Let us bear in mind that John is not speaking to saints with whom he has daily or frequent intercourse, but that he is writing to Christians who are at a distance, and whom perhaps he has never seen. But even with these conditions of separation and distance, he claims a fellowship for them and a fellowship with them; and the fellowship that he claims is that wider "communion of saints" into which all are admitted, irrespective of locality or circumstance, who "walk in the light as he is in the light."

Exactly the same meaning is given to the word in Philippians 1. 5, where the apostle speaks of "your *fellowship* in the gospel from the first day until now." This is not a fellowship which is localized, confined within the church at Philippi; it is the wider fellowship in which the apostle himself is embraced, for he goes on to remind them how his love and his prayers have gone out toward them, and how their thoughts and prayers and welcome gifts have followed him, right on through the unforgetting years "from that first day until now."

Again in the Epistle to Philemon, verse 6, the apostle writes, "That the *communication* of your faith may become effectual." The Revised Version rightly substitutes the word "fellowship" for the word "communication"; though it is evident there had been some communication of Philemon's faith, for the apostle had heard of it, probably through Onesimus. But here again the fellowship is that wider fellowship of spirit, that deeper union of souls, which binds in one "partnership"—as the apostle playfully puts it in verse 17—Paul, the aged, at Rome and Philemon at Colossæ.

So far then in our search we have not found a single case where fellowship in the New Testament has the narrower meaning of an interchange of Christian experience. There remains but one other occasion of its use that we need examine, and that is in Acts 2. 42, where we read, "And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers." And here we come to the arena of fierce logomachies, for this verse has given rise to endless strifes of words. Reading it backward, and throwing into the word our modern ideas, some can see in it proof positive that the early church had already instituted meetings for the interchange of Christian thought and sentiment, the relation of personal experience. And so the author of the first-prize *"essay on the class-meeting"* speaks half reproachfully and half pathetically of "bewildering expositors" who have adopted an interpretation of the word which, he says, "would never have been suggested by the general drift of the passage"; and he complains of them as "emptying the phrase of its spiritual significance." But is it sound exegesis, is it not rather a dangerous experiment, to give to the word here a meaning we do not find in any other occasion of its use? Had we not a purpose to serve, some pre-judgment to ratify, should we not expect that the word "fellowship" here would have all the wider meaning it has elsewhere? Naturally we should, and so indeed we do find it. What the *κοινωνία* of verse 42 means Saint Luke tells us in verse 44, where he says they "had all things common" (*ἅπαντα κοινά*), a statement he repeats in chapter 4. 32. The *κοίνα* of the one explains the *κοινωνέω* of the other. It

is, therefore, here, as elsewhere, the broader fellowship, not a fellowship of words, but a fellowship of soul, so deep, so close, it leads to a fellowship of goods, in part, at least. After the lightnings and thunders of Pentecost, such was the rain of blessing, such the sweet overflow of love, the lines of the "mine" and "thine" were for the most part obliterated, and each individual life poured out its sympathies and charities in one ungrudging largesse. And if this broader interpretation of the word seems too catholic, and not enough Methodistic, I will call for the testimony of Wesley himself, who was too much of a Grecian to be led off on a false scent. In his Notes upon this verse, he says, "So their daily communion consisted in these four particulars: 1. Hearing the word; 2. Having all things common; 3. Receiving the Lord's Supper; 4. Prayer."

We come then to this conclusion, that the New Testament word "fellowship," in the nineteen places where it is used, never once has the narrower meaning of an interchange of religious experience. It may include that, but certainly it does include a great deal more. It means a fellowship of soul, of spirit, induced by a fellowship with the Divine Spirit, and which, as Dr. Gregory says, "constitutes the real, essential oneness of the church." It was a fellowship that expressed itself in many ways —in thoughts, in feelings, in works, in prayers, in words, in gifts; a fellowship which knit together the detached members, however far they might be sundered, into one body, a body which was glad to obey the commands, and to execute the will of its unseen and exalted Head. And what we find to be the teaching of the word "fellowship," we find illustrated in the life of the early church. We get but few, and those very brief, glances into the internal economy of the church. We do find, however, that they had meetings, sometimes all-night meetings, for prayer, meetings for worship and for the frequent communions; but we do not find any meeting set apart distinctively for the relation of personal experience. When we do hear them speaking, it is not of themselves, but of "the wonderful works of God." And so Saint Paul, writing to the Corinthians, 1. 14, 26, says, "When ye come together every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine,

hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation"; but he does not say, "hath an experience." Even the agapæ of the early Christians partook more of the social than of the spiritual elements, approaching in their character more nearly to our tea meeting than to any other of our church gatherings.

But having said this, let us hasten to say that we would not for one moment depreciate the value of Christian testimony, nor would we speak one disparaging word of those inner circles of Christian fellowship which are at once the strength and glory of our church. Here we fall back on Hooker's great principle, "The omission of a point in Scripture does not decide against it, but only throws us upon the law of reason on the matter." So it must be here, and though the word fellowship may not have our narrower meaning, yet through all the New Testament we find the fact of a real, spiritual fellowship; a fellowship so close and deep that it implies, as it demands, a free interchange of religious thought and feeling. How could they possibly have been of one heart and soul had each believer held the great secret shut up within his own heart, insulating himself from all the rest? How could they have had all things common if they shared not these deeper experiences of their soul life? Would they share each other's goods, and not share at the same time each other's joys and sorrows, hopes and fears? Of one thing we may be sure, the world had never said, "See how these Christians love one another!" had each worshiper hidden his deeper, truer self within the shell of selfish reserve. And so the New Testament is full of injunctions as to the mutual duties of Christians: how they are to edify one another, to teach one another, to exhort one another, to comfort one another, to admonish one another—injunctions which imply the very closest personal intercourse and the freest interchange of Christian experience.

We need not then apologize for what is the distinctive feature of our church, its systematized provision for the interchange of religious thought, and for the consideration of questions bearing upon the spiritual life. If we do not base them upon any divine ordinance or upon any separated sentence of the New Testament, we base them upon that older Scripture, those tables

of the heart, the needs and necessities of our human nature; for when all science is based upon experience, when experience and testimony are the two chief factors in the problem of progress and destiny, why should religion be the one, the great exception to a universal law?

But while we recognize the value of the class meeting we are bound to admit that it does not represent the New Testament idea of Christian fellowship. And when, out of the numberless ways in which that divine fellowship found expression, we select one, the fellowship of words, of speech, giving to it a preeminent place and making it the sole condition of membership in our church, our position is at once illogical and unscriptural. When Methodism was but a "society" within the church, we could impose any condition, and select any password we might choose; but now that we claim to be a church, we must adjust our ecclesiastical approaches and conditions to the pattern shown us on the Mount, these Scriptures of the New Testament, and we are not justified in narrowing or building up the Gate which is called Beautiful, which is broad and high, and substituting in its place some little wicket gate of our own. Our wicket gate might find its place and use as it opened from the interior to some Solomon's porch, or some quiet cloisters; but to set it in the front, the only approach and entrance, is an anomaly and anachronism which is out of harmony both with reason and Scripture.

That there must be some readjustment of membership conditions in our Wesleyan Methodist Church is evident; but it does not come within the scope of this paper to indicate the directions or form of that adjustment; this we leave with all confidence to the constructive skill of our seers and statesmen, guided, as they will be, by the Spirit of Him who is the Head and Builder of his church—the Lord who still walks among the golden candlesticks and who holds in his right hand the stars of the churches and the stars of all the skies.

Henry Burton

A CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY; OR, CAN A UNIVERSITY BE CHRISTIAN?

In the great intercession of his passion Jesus prayed, "Sanctify thou them through the truth; thy word is truth." In this petition the process by which God sanctifies a human heart is set forth as partly one of truth, and partly one of almighty power. The Holy Spirit is the energy, but the Holy Spirit only performs his work in relation to the truth. The Holy Spirit, truly, sheds some measure of divine light upon every human heart, but he can make a heart radiant with Christian light only in connection with the Christian gospel. We believe that God's grace reaches all men everywhere; that no man anywhere, no, not the most benighted savage, but has felt the calling of the Spirit of God; but the full ministry of God's Holy Spirit can be performed only in relation to the truth. God did something for men under the Hebrew conception of the truth, and he can still do something for men under it; but only in connection with the full Christian gospel, that namely, of God made manifest in the flesh, crucified for our sins, and raised for our justification, can the Holy Spirit perform his full sanctifying ministry. This is at once a truth of Scripture and of experience, and it underlies the whole movement of the Christian evangel. There would be no need of missionary enterprise if the Holy Spirit performed his whole sanctifying ministry without respect to the measure of truth. The abiding contrast between Christian and non-Christian civilizations bears mute testimony to the worth of every fundamental detail of the Christian message. We reiterate, every Christian truth has its own peculiar moral worth, and the sacrifice of any one of them its own peculiar costliness. It was the realization of this fact that lay behind the controversies of the early Christian centuries. They have been spoken of contemptuously as the controversies over a Greek diphthong; but such a criticism only manifests the critic's lack of deep appreciation. Either he is ignorant of what was at stake behind the diphthong, or else he

fails to appreciate the moral worth of every detail of Christian truth. For the church everything was at stake in those controversies. The word "homo" put into Creed identified the Saviour with the very eternal substance of the Father, while the word "homoi" on the contrary would have made possible a lower conception of him. And just as the early church guarded the essential deity of her Lord, in those early controversies, so the church in all ages must guard every fundamental item of her great faith. She must guard her truth as to sin, as to redemption, her emphasis upon the supernatural, her belief in the possibility of supernatural life through faith, and her belief in the supernatural character and sufficiency of her Scriptures.

Another manifestation of the fact that the church from the beginning did appreciate the worth of her truth is to be found in the fact that always she has been not only a preaching, but a teaching institution. The apostles themselves were not only preachers and evangelists, they were also teachers who trained for the church a ministry that was to succeed them. Very early Christian schools were organized. The names of Origen and Clement have made the one at Alexandria familiar to all the world. And from these beginnings, coming down across the centuries the church has been among the chief sponsors of educational institutions. The colleges and universities of our own country are a striking illustration of the teaching ministry of the church, for it will be admitted on every hand that the large majority of our institutions of higher learning are of churchly origin. Many, in recent years, have slipped out from under her guiding hand to seek the liberality of secular foundations, and to this tendency it is high time the church called a definite halt; but with all these subtracted the church is still, and must always remain, a great patron of higher education.

The church has colleges and universities, but can the name Christian be applied to them? Indeed, can the word Christian appropriately be applied to a modern university? The foundation of the church, that is, the attitude that gives meaning and worth to all its infinite values, may be expressed in the words, "I believe." Can a university stand upon this foundation? Is not

the foundation of the university rather expressed in the words, "I investigate"? One cannot hesitate before this last question, the university is essentially an investigator; and it may be seriously questioned to what extent an institution dedicated to investigation can stand upon the churchly foundation, "I believe." But let us be careful, for if a university cannot be built upon the same foundation with the church, then it is not in any proper sense entitled to be called by the name Christian. As an investigator the university must have the perfect freedom of facts. This is certainly true. But then so far as it is a question of facts the church no less than the university must accord them full recognition. The freedom of facts is as necessary to truth as freedom of speech is to democracy. Any institution that refuses to respect the facts has lost its right to the respect of the world. But cannot the church and the university as well give full freedom to facts and yet rest solidly upon the Christian foundation of faith?

This is the crucial question of our discussion, and we answer it with an emphatic affirmative. Every system of thought that offers to the mind a comprehensive explanation of the world and things has beneath and around its facts a very extensive body of faith, that is, a body of chosen belief. This is equally true whether the explanation is called by the name of science, philosophy or religion. This body of faith, of chosen faith (and all faith is chosen, for when it ceases to be choice and becomes demonstration, it is no longer faith but knowledge), is in science not a part of its facts, and in philosophy not a part of its demonstrations; but is, in either of these systems of thought, an hypothesis constructed around separate facts and demonstrations to complete them and to unite them into a system.

It is in respect of this framework of fundamental belief into which facts are fitted, and by which they are completed and united, that the Christian Church has a faith. And in respect of this framework the university must also have a faith. If it happens to be an exponent of the evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin, that theory is its faith. If instead it has taken upon itself the name Christian, then the faith of the church must be its faith. The Christian university, then, is an investigator with a

certain fixed body of fundamental Christian beliefs that determines the point of view from which every fact and all truth shall be viewed. Or, to put it differently, it is an investigator with a creed that determines the framework into which all facts must be built.

We believe that this harmonizing of freedom of investigation with fixedness of general faith is absolutely justifiable intellectually. We will proceed with our discussion, first, by stating just what a Christian university is, and second, by attempting some justification of our assertion that a university has a right to choose the fundamental framework of its thinking.

A Christian university, as we are thinking of it, may be defined in three principal items, thus: It is an institution that has made choice of the Christian point of view, and that is seeking to see every fact, and all truth from that position. Second, it is an institution that instead of quickly accepting every new theory of philosophy or of science brings these not only to the test of facts, but also to the test of its own great faith. It studiously seeks to relate all new facts to that great body of truth that has come to us in the revelation of Jesus Christ. Third, it is eager to press upon its own generation, and to pass on to all succeeding generations, its sublime heritage of truth. It aims to educate, but its chief passion is to pass on to all generations of men the whole wonder of the fact and of the truth of Christ.

It is impossible to miss the central idea in this definition of a Christian university. It is that the Christian university not only has the right, but is under an absolute imperative to make choice concerning what body of fundamental faith or philosophy it will hold. This conception is to our generation somewhat strange. Men generally do not regard truth as something held in personal choice. They look upon it rather as a conclusion from evidence; indeed as an actual demonstrated certainty. Each reasoner, of course, believes his own conclusions are the only ones warranted by the evidence, but the fact that equally accurate intellects draw opposite conclusions would strongly argue that some personal bias of the reasoner, rather than the evidence, is the determining factor.

Some years ago a professor from a European university came to America to lecture upon the human soul. His thesis as advertised in the public press was approximately this: A Demonstration of the Non-Existence of the Human Soul. His subject attracted widely, and he was given a large hearing. His argument rested upon the simultaneousness of the phenomenon of death in mind and body. He had observed that when the vital organs ceased to function the soul ceased to express itself through the body. He concluded from this observation that the soul is but a function of the vital organs, and has no separate existence. The slightest examination of this argument, however, shows that the conclusion is not a demonstration, but rather that it is a personally chosen opinion, held, in this case, on the basis of very inadequate evidence. The fact that the soul has ceased to express itself through the body does not at all prove that it has ceased to exist, and to express itself in another life apart from the body. The observed fact that the soul has ceased to express itself through a broken body no more concluded the extinction of the soul than it would argue the extinction of a musician should he cease to express himself through a broken violin. The professor did not convince his American audiences. The reason is evident. He did not have a demonstration, but simply a personally chosen belief.

And what was true concerning this effort to demonstrate the philosophy of Materialism is equally true of every effort to demonstrate any philosophy. Every philosophy the world has ever held is simply a chosen faith supported by some weight of evidence. The last hundred years produced numerous philosophies and philosophical doctrines. Thus, there were Idealism and Monism, Materialism and Pessimism, Agnosticism, Pragmatism, Evolution by infinitesimal variation, and Personalism. Some of these systems and principles are mutually antagonistic, and therefore cannot all be true. In some measure, therefore, they must have been the chosen faiths of those who hold them. When anything is demonstrated it is demonstrated forever. Euclid settled certain principles of mathematics for all time. Newton similarly settled the law of gravitation. If any system of philosophy could be thus demonstrated it would decisively defeat all others. It would

quickly become universal, and its position could never again be disturbed. The fact that no system of philosophy does win for itself such universal acceptance is sufficient proof that no philosophical system has ever been demonstrated, but that they are on the contrary held simply as chosen beliefs.

Just before the war a professor of history in one of our outstanding American institutions of learning, who had made choice of the principle of gradual evolution as one of his fundamentals, asserted that all history would have to be rewritten to get the idea of crisis out of it. The war has brought decisive rebuttal to his theory. To-day it seems almost certain that for years to come the idea of crisis and historic leap will have large place with historical writers. Before the war, again, Lavedan was a skeptic. He not only did not believe, he rejoiced in unbelief. Here is his own account of his experience. He writes:

"Once I laughed at faith and thought myself wise. But when I saw France bleeding and weeping, my laughter could not give me joy. I counted the sacrifices of our people, and I saw how they accepted them with praying hearts. A nation must despair unless it believes that the sufferings of earth will become the joys of heaven. Who can hope when everything is failing, save he that has faith in God? How hard it is to be an atheist on this national burying ground. I cannot do it. I can't be one. I have deceived myself and you who have read my books and sung my songs. I was mad. It has all been an awful dream. O France, return to your faith, and to your best days. To depart from God is to be lost. I know not whether I shall be alive to-morrow, but I must tell my friends, Lavedan does not dare die an atheist. It is not hell that makes me afraid, but this one thought grips me: God lives, and thou art so far from him. O my soul, rejoice that thou art permitted to see in this hour, when kneeling thou art able to say, I believe, I believe in God, I believe!"

Why did Lavedan change his philosophy from atheism to religion? Was it because he had suddenly discovered any facts in science or any new principles in philosophy? No, the explanation lies wholly elsewhere. The explanation lies not without, but within. Lavedan himself had been changed. He had seen the world failing. He had seen France suffering, believing, praying. He had suddenly found himself thrust out into the deeps of life away from the little superficialities in which he had vainly lived. In this new vast world the little theories he had held were worth-

less to him. He rejected them. He turned to faith in God. Lavedan changed his philosophy because his heart and conscience had been lifted to the place of authority, and with these enthroned his old beliefs were impossible to him. J. S. Mill similarly changed his philosophy after the death of his wife. Voltaire, too, changed at the threshold of death sufficiently for his daring bitterness to give place to fear.

This truth that we have been developing is one of large importance, and especially so to-day, when many people are accepting mere age currents in philosophy as if they were actually demonstrated truth. It seems strange that anything so important should be so generally lost out of sight, for our truth is not at all a new discovery, but on the contrary has been again and again announced and emphasized. Plato proclaimed it to his day, asserting that man is powerless to arrive at certainty of the truth, and that he must await a divine revelation. And Pascal, Fichte, Luthardt and Schodde have more recently announced the same. Wrote Fichte: "Our system of thought is often but the history of our heart. Conviction arises from inclination, not from reason, and the improvement of the heart leads to true wisdom." And Luthardt, in his great apologetic work, now only fifty years old, writes: "The prerequisite and determining motive of different opinions is not so much a different philosophy, a different set of notions, as a different state of feelings." While Schodde, writing in our own times, analyzes the intellectual currents of the nineteenth century and asserts that they are to be explained by the adhesion of successive schools to three different fundamental principles in philosophy.

Here then is our conclusion as it relates to the question of the Christian university. Since every comprehensive interpretation of things, whether called by the name of science, philosophy or of religion, is the chosen faith of its advocates, then there is no reason why a university should not definitely make choice of the whole Christian point of view, and devotedly maintain it. There is no reason why a university should not test by this Christian point of view the various unproved theories of science and principles of philosophy that are from time to time offered for its

consideration. There is no reason why a university should not eagerly seek to relate all new facts to its Christian point of view. If the objection should be offered that according to these ideas intellectual possession of the truth is forever impossible in this world, we reply, it is even so. True science always assumes vast and unproved presuppositions, and it never has and never will give answer to any fundamental question. Science never will be able to lighten the fundamental mystery of being. As a method of knowledge with respect to these things it is even more helpless than deductive philosophy. Whether or no God could have given to man a mental mechanism that would have made it possible for him to explore and demonstrate fundamental truth may be an open question; that he has not done so is simply a patent fact of experience.

But while asserting that fundamental truth cannot be demonstrated and that every comprehensive interpretation of life and things is simply a chosen belief, no matter by what name it may be called, we do not want to be understood as saying that Christianity is without intellectual support. Very far from this, we want to assert that Christianity has a tremendous apologetic, abundantly sufficient to justify the Christian university's choice of it; that it has, indeed, an appeal not alone to the intellect, but to every faculty and power of the human personality. In the first place Christianity is a theistic system, and so it is heir to all the intellectual resources of theism. And while we must admit that theism falls short of actually demonstrating an eternal personal First Cause, yet we must nevertheless assert that it has made it fully apparent that the human mind cannot come to rest in any other conception. So true is this that the theistic thinker is often half persuaded to look upon his arguments as a demonstration. Then too the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is of large apologetic value. Certainly we fully recognize the inability of the human mind to picture the Trinity and Unity of God. But the intellect can nevertheless appreciate certain elements of great strength in this fundamental Christian truth. Thus apart from the Trinity and Unity of God no conception of him as social and ethical is possible, for as a solitary personality he can

have neither social contacts nor ethical obligations. If, to gain for him an object with which he could stand in relation, we should regard creation as an eternal process, we would be involved in two difficulties, thus: in the first place, pantheism; in the second place, the sheer impossibility of dividing the finite period of creation into the infinite eternity of God. If to avoid these difficulties we should hold creation to be an act of God in time, then we would become involved in another impossibility. For if we hold that God as a solitary personality created in time, then before creation he was wholly unrelated. But an unrelated personality can have no ethical attributes. If in spite of this impossibility we still affirm fatherhood, love, and righteousness of God, we are uttering words that are not ideas; for the father who has no son, and the lover who has no beloved, and the righteous personality that stands wholly outside all relations are mere absurdities. It is from all these difficulties that the doctrine of the Trinity saves the mind.

Then again besides the philosophical arguments there is the evidential value of history, the whole movement of divine revelation coming to its climax in Christ and the Christian centuries that have arisen out of him. And the fact of Christ stands. Men may deny him because they do not like the supernatural, but such a denial is prejudice, it is the choice of unbelief as one's personal credo. The supernatural Christ is as much a fact of history as Napoleon or Julius Cæsar. And then standing close beside the argument from history is that of experience, an argument that cannot be passed by, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated.

But, moving on, Christianity makes another appeal to men besides those that are intellectual, and in this it is unique: for no other philosophy makes any appeal beyond the intellect. All other systems speak to the reason alone, but Christianity speaks to the whole heart and conscience of man as well as to his reason. It is this last appeal which gives to it peculiar strength as a practical faith. In what appeals to man's heart he wants to believe. In what appeals to man's conscience he ought to believe. It is this power of the Christian faith to appeal not only to the intellect but

also to the heart and conscience that gives to it its unique authority. We must still admit that it comes short of being demonstrated truth, and yet we must assert that because of its appeal to the heart and conscience it has the authority of a practical imperative. Christianity with its tremendous intellectual probability; Christianity with its perfect worth to the human heart; Christianity with its unescapable appeal to the human conscience, a man owes it to make such a system his personal faith.

There is a striking passage in the Revelation. It runs: "But the fearful and unbelieving and whoremongers . . . shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." Unbelief is here classified with vices and crimes. Men are here described as morally false who, touching the whole manifold appeal of Christianity, yet fail to make personal choice of it as their faith. Again, we repeat, God has not made it possible for men to arrive at intellectual certainty concerning the truth; but he has made it possible for them to feel a tremendous practical and moral imperative concerning it. When Job said, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him," he was simply venturing against appearances upon what in his own conscience he knew ought to be the character of God; and the supreme apologetic of Christianity is this, that it ought to be true. And those who know the commanding strength of the Christian witness, and have the moral courage of a faith like Job's, will inevitably make Christianity their personal venture in belief.

This unique appeal that Christianity makes to the whole personality of man ought to be fully appreciated. With the truth or untruth of such conceptions as materialism, monism, naturalism, evolution, and the rest, the human heart and conscience have no concern, unless it might be in some instances an aversion. But with the truth of Christ the whole mind and heart and conscience of man are concerned. One cannot hear the gospel of Jesus without a feeling within that cries, "O that I knew where I might find him!" "He must be true!" If Christ is not true the supremest hope, the supremest ideal, the supremest truth is all stood untrue, and humanity is left bereft of hope. Truth has perished.

And now let us gather up. We have seen that whole areas of

truth are forever beyond the reach of the intellect alone; that they belong not to the intellect alone, as a part of mind, but to the whole full-orbed personality of man; that truth in these areas can be possessed only as a personally chosen faith; that Christianity as an interpretation of life and things is in this area, and that every other system, no matter by what name its author may call it, is there also. We have seen, too, that the Christian faith has a tremendous intellectual apologetic, and that in addition to its appeal to the mind it has a unique authority over the conscience and heart that gives to it the position of a practical imperative. Having seen these things, we ask ourselves, can a university dedicated to the free investigation of facts take upon itself the name Christian, and contend in the intellectual world for the whole Christian point of view? And to this question we answer firmly, yes. A university can add to its name the word Christian and insist that its position is intellectually valid. Are there facts of science? Certainly; and there are equally facts of Christianity. Are there beliefs of Christianity? Certainly; and there are equally beliefs of science. The fundamental content of the word Christian is a legitimate test for truth. It is just as intellectually valid, to say the least, to reject a scientific theory, or a principle of some philosophy because it does violence to fundamental Christian truth as to reject a fundamental Christian belief because it does violence to some scientific theory. Certain scientists may choose to reject the supernatural. But the Christian university can answer, there *are* evidences. The scientists may reply there can be no evidences, the thing is contrary to nature. But the Christian university can reply again, this is not science, it is simply a chosen faith, and a chosen faith, too, incomparably inferior in its whole ground to that of the Christian. There is a standard of truth in the intellect. We hold two times two are four because we cannot think them five. Good, this is a valid test. But it is equally valid to hold that right is eternally different from wrong because we cannot feel it to be otherwise, in our consciences; and that death does not end our personal existence because we cannot feel it to be otherwise in our hearts. There are intuitions of the mind, and there are also intuitions of the con-

science and of the heart. If one is dependable, then all are dependable. And the Christian university, believing in the dependability of every human intuition, does not hesitate to reject some theory of science or philosophy because it does violence to the great Christian faith as witnessed in the conscience and heart of humanity.

In Christ, the fact of Christ and the gospel of Christ the Christian university holds that it has the truth. There are details of truth it lacks, many details; but the great main chart of truth it possesses. And its eagerness is to guard that truth, to relate it to all new facts, to press it as life's supreme treasure upon all hearts, and to pass it on to all generations of men. The Christian university then is a part of the whole apostolate of Christianity. It is an institution that has felt the wonder of Christ, and its passion is that every fact of life shall be related to his person, and that every corner of the earth shall be enriched with the virtue of his redeeming death, with the direct power of his risen life, and with all the indirect wealth and peace of the civilization that flows from him.

That the above is probably not the current ideal of a university we admit. Indeed, we do not doubt that there are many institutions that claim for themselves the name Christian that will be far from this, both in fact and even in aspiration. But over against this admission we want simply to stand these two personal opinions: First, that the idea here set forth is in every way superior to that freer and less Christian one that is current. Second, that no university is entitled to the name of Christian that does not at least approximate this ideal. Christianity is not simply an amiable spirit of kindheartedness. Christianity is not simply a vague thirst for truth. If such conceptions define Christianity, then Christianity was in the world before Christ. Some time ago the writer came upon this quotation of a certain prominent clergyman printed in a church paper:

"I have thrown out of my life these four anchors:
My faith in goodness.
My faith in the possibility of man's accomplishing goodness.
My faith in Jesus Christ as the ideal of goodness.
My faith in the divine helpfulness of the world to help to goodness."

These words were doubtless intended as an expression of Christianity. But the fact of the matter is they are not. The New Testament again and again denies the second and fourth of these propositions, while the first and third could not by any means be said to be its central emphasis. We cannot forbear recording a protest against the intellectual slovenliness that calls contrary teachings by the same name. And, we might add, against the personal unfairness that uses the prestige of the great Christian name to give support to one's own opposite venture in belief. If brethren are in dissent from the Christian gospel and its interpretation of life, let them project their new theory in their own names. But it is manifestly unfair for men and institutions sustaining opposite opinions to make use of the great Christian name. One of the phrases produced by modern higher criticism is that of "pious fraud." It would seem that some of the brethren who make use of the phrase understand its meaning from personal experience.

But we reiterate no institution is Christian that has not made choice of apostolic Christianity as its venture in fundamental belief. For a university to make this choice is, on the one hand, to surrender a measure of its freedom. Not, indeed, its freedom of facts, but its freedom of choice as to philosophical faith. But on the other hand, the university so choosing lifts itself out of the unstable currents of mere changing opinion out on the headlands of abiding truth. Nearly two hundred years ago the bias of naturalism was launched in the universities of Germany. The final flower of that beginning is the philosophy of Nietzsche, the principle of the "worthless scrap of paper," in international relations, and the incomparable horrors of the late war. How much finer a thing it would have been had those same universities made choice of Christianity as their foundation truth. How different would now have been the position of Germany! How different would now have been the condition of the whole world!

But, to conclude, whatever position in respect of fundamental philosophy any individual or institution takes, it is his chosen faith. In this sphere of truth there is no intellectual

demonstration. If a university should refuse to accept the Christian fundamentals in order that it might continue to move among the currents of mere human opinion, this refusal is just as much a choice in faith as the opposite position. Indeed, it is a chosen faith directly against the facts, for it is demonstrable that there is no such sure movement of thought toward final truth. Anyone familiar with the currents of thought could name a dozen that came to nothing, and from which the intellectual world has reacted. Thus the Reformation principle of individual freedom of thought is just now in danger of developing into a principle of anarchy that would make impossible all common life and faith. Similarly, the great conception of the universe as a vast system of law and power had already been carried to such an extreme that it had made belief in the very existence of personality impossible; and from this extreme the thought of the world has already reacted. The fact of the matter is, the extreme development of the principle of naturalism can be held only in open defiance to the common facts of life. The everyday experience of human freedom, alone, makes it absolutely untenable. For, granted personal self-determination, then there is a point where pure spiritual intention first becomes motor impulse in the nervous system; and that point is as sheerly supernatural as Jesus's walking on the water or his resurrection from the dead.

But our point is that the shifting currents of human opinion are no safe guide toward the truth. The university that follows them follows them as a matter of chosen faith, and it can never tell when it is moving along a blind alley or when it is moving in the direction of the truth. In view of this being true, for an institution to have a great fixed foundation of faith upon which to stand, far from being a handicap, is a great advantage. It does not limit freedom, it only protects from blind adventures that waste power.

But whatever may be the advantage or disadvantage of such a foundation of fixed belief, no university is entitled to the name Christian that is not so founded. A Christian university is one that has examined the whole Christian apologetic, both intellectual, moral and human, and has come to the place where it is

convinced—that is, has come to the place, where in view of all the evidences of Christianity, it is constrained to make its venture that the truth lies within that system. It has still perfect freedom with respect to all facts. Every fact must be accepted. Every demonstrated truth must be accepted. Should a fact or a demonstrated principle ever appear contradictory to any fundamental truth of Christianity it would of necessity be fatal to the Christian interpretation. But the Christian university has the right, on the basis of the great facts and intuitions upon which Christianity rests, to hold that this development is simply a theoretical and not an actual possibility. The Christian university is free then toward every fact and every demonstrated truth. The only respect in which it is not free is, it cannot accept any theory of science or any principle of philosophy as true that does violence to its own great faith. It must be content, if need be, to stand alone against the whole current of its time, and await its certain justification in the future. And it can afford thus to wait, for Christ, the fact of Christ, and that interpretation of Christ known for two thousand years as apostolic Christianity has convinced the intellects and captured the hearts and consciences of sixty generations of men. In a world that is governed by a perfect God the highest evidence for the truth of any conception is this simple statement, that the hearts and consciences of men have seen it as ideal through generations. And omitting every other part of its great apologetic we confidently assert on the basis of this single evidence, that Christianity, concerning which the hearts and consciences of the past ages have affirmed that it ought to be true, is true; and that the minds of future ages will one day know what it is.

Harold Paul Sloan

THE HOUNDS OF HELL

It is a preacher's poem. It is a poem of the church. Masefield admits that it is the preacher and the church that "keeps the soul of the world alive," to quote Dr. Lynn Harold Hough.

In these words Masefield admits that the preacher and the church are "guardians of the souls of men":

> "And in men's minds a fear began
> That hell had overhurled
> The guardians of the soul of man,
> And come to rule the world."

The "Hounds of Hell" are sin hounds. Just as Francis Thompson used the figure of "The Hound of Heaven" as symbolic of the wistful, eager pursuing of Jesus for human souls that he would win to his heart of love so Masefield here in this new poem uses the figure of the "Hounds of Hell" as symbolic of those innumerable, white-fanged, red-lipped sins that pursue men and women, terrorizing them.

But the glory of the poem is this, that Masefield sees clearly that all the hosts of hell cannot prevail against one who has allied himself on the side of right. In this tremendous new poem the English writer made us see that, after all, sin is helpless and hopeless against that thing inside of a human soul which is God:

> "'Open the doors, good saint,' they cried.
> 'Pass deeper to your soul;
> There is a spirit in your side
> That hell cannot control.'"

He even goes so far as to declare that sin is, after all, "silly" in its final analysis; that it is silly in its lack of power:

> "Open the doors to let him in,
> That beauty with the sword;
> The hounds are silly shapes of sin,
> They shrivel at a word."

The Story of the Poem

The hounds of hell represent the sin in the world. Sin terrorizes all the countryside.

"'What hounds are these, that hunt the night?'
The shepherds asked in fear;
'Look, there are calkins clinking bright;
They must be coming here.'"

When daylight came they found that the hell hounds had slaughtered all night long; animals and men. They were ruthless, as sin always is. The innocent suffer as well as the guilty. Sin is no respecter of persons. One of the terrible things about sin is that generation after generation suffers. Blasco Ibanez gives a vivid illustration of this in "Mare Nostrum" where he shows the old sea captain carrying ammunition for the German submarines in his little ship because he loves the German woman spy; loves her in sin; faithless to his own country; sinning in disloyalty, as he knows. Then, one night, he sees the very submarine that he has furnished ammunition for sink a ship, and in a flash of light sees his own son sink in that wreck. Sin is always like that. It makes the innocent to suffer. So it is with the hounds of hell:

"When daylight drove away the dark
And larks went up and thrilled,
The shepherds climbed the wold to mark
What beasts the hounds had killed.

"They came to where the hounds had fed,
And in that trampled place
They found a peddler lying dead
With horror in his face."

I was reminded as I read these lines of the crime waves that from time to time sweep our cities. I happened to enter San Francisco at a time when a crime wave was on that Western city. The district in which I lived was terrorized by burglaries, murders, hold-ups, night after night, and the police department did not seem able to cope with it. Such a situation existed when I began my ministry in the great city of Detroit. The situation was so bad that they had to swear in a great army of citizen policemen to stop the wave of ruthless crime.

What is a crime wave in a city? The answer is: the hounds of hell are loose.

Then the poem tells of a farmer who had a thousand sheep,

and one night he heard the hell hounds baying and in the morning his sheep were all dead at the bottom of a steep cliff:

"And the thundering of a thousand sheep
All mad and running wild
To the stone-pit seven fathoms deep,
Whence all the town is tiled.

"After them came the hounds of hell
With hell's own fury filled;
Into the pit the wethers fell
And all but three were killed."

A third tragedy is set forth in this fascinating narrative poem, that of the murder of a shepherd:

"Then presently a cry rang out,
And a mort blew for the kill;
A shepherd with his throat torn out
Lay dead upon the hill."

These three tragedies so terrorized the people that they were afraid any longer to go out at night.

"The men who lived upon the moor
Would waken to the scratch
Of hounds' claws digging at the door,
Of scraping at the latch.

"And presently no man would go
Without doors after dark,
Lest hell's black hunting horn should blow,
And hell's black bloodhounds mark."

Then came the inevitable conclusion of men, that hell had conquered heaven, and that evil had overmastered good; and that the devil had vanquished God:

"And in men's minds a fear began
That hell had overhurled
The guardians of the soul of man,
And come to rule the world."

Then Came the Preacher, the Church, and the Christ

The "guardians of the soul of man" were not overthrown. They never are. It looked so when the "big drive" began. The Germans, six deep in waves, had driven the English back to the

channel ports. They were within an hour's ride of Paris. It looked black. But "the guardians of the soul of man" were still on the job. "Though ten thousand are encamped against thee, no harm shall come nigh thee," "If God be for us, who can be against us?" might have been texts for Masefield's new poem.

Salvation came in the form of a new Sir-Galahad-Preacher-Saint. How many times in the world's history preacher-saints have come to kill the hounds of hell! At what a needful hour John Wesley stepped into the life of England to save her from the hounds of hell. At what tremendous epoch the Methodist preachers stepped into our own national life and drove back the hounds of hell which we call the liquor interests and are still keeping them at bay in law enforcement. So it has ever been.

"Saint Withiel lived upon the moor
Where the peat-men live in holes;
He worked among the peat-men poor,
Who only have their souls.

"He brought them nothing but his love
And the will to do them good,
But power filled him from above;
His very touch was food.

"Then one whose son the hounds had killed
Told him the tale at length;
Saint Withiel pondered why God willed
That hell should have such strength."

How many of those of us who have set aside our lives to fight evil have not felt at times that "God had willed that hell should have such strength"?

"Then one, a passing traveler, told
How, since the hounds had come,
The church was empty in the wold,
And all the priests were dumb."

Moved with righteous wrath, this good man declared that he would not be driven into terror by sin.

"Saint Withiel rose at this, and said,
'This priest will not be dumb;
My spirit will not be afraid
Though all hell's devils come.'"

The Struggle with Sin

Then the struggle with sin began. It was terrific while it lasted. If the saint had only known, what he should have known when he started out, that sin is always weak with the weakness of a consciousness of wrong, his battle might not have been so hard. Margaret Cameron, in "The Seven Purposes," says, "All pure purpose is fearless," and it was in this pure purpose that the saint started out.

But then his purpose weakened and he became struck with terror as he saw the hounds of hell pass by in the night:

"A terror came upon the saint,
It stripped his spirit bare;
He was sick, body standing faint,
Cold sweat and stiffened hair."

Then the writer tells us of the joy that was in the heart of evil over having terrorized the representative of good and God. In a figure similar to that which he uses in "The Everlasting Mercy," following Saul Kane's midnight debauch, the poet speaks:

"Then close at hand the horn was loud,
Like Peter's cock of old,
For joy that Peter's soul was cowed,
And Jesus' body sold."

So it always is when we who are eternally pledged to "keep the soul of the world alive" weaken. There is hilarious shouting, bellowing, howling, fiendish joy in the house of the hounds of hell.

"And as Saint Withiel's terror grew
The crying of the pack
Bayed nearer, as though terror drew
Those grip teeth to his back.

"His legs seemed bound as in a dream,
The wet earth held his feet,
He screamed aloud as rabbits scream
Before the stoat's teeth meet."

He ran in terror and as he ran:

"A black thing struck him on the brow,
A blackness loomed and saved;
It was a tree. He caught a bough
And scrambled up it, saved."

Many a good man has been treed by sin. And many a good preacher has found himself in the ridiculous position of chagrin and shame that the good saint found himself in. To say the least, being up a tree is not a dignified position for a "guardian of the souls of men."

He Used a Tree to Hide

Shame overcame him as he hunched in a crook of the tree, up which he had clambered in terror from the hounds of hell. And then:

> "He clambered down the saving tree;
> 'I am unclean!' he cried.
> 'Christ died upon a tree for me,
> I used a tree to hide!'"

Then Masefield pictures a vivid scene. It is that of Jesus on the Cross of Calvary with the hell hounds baying about him and leaping at his throat with spears and thorns and hate in their souls:

> "'The hell hounds bayed about the cross,
> And tore his clothes apart,
> But Christ was gold and I am dross,
> And mud is in my heart!'"

There is suggested in the above quatrain a whole book of prose. One finds in these four lines all of Robert Hunter's "Why We Christians Fail." We fail because we are not willing to take the cross and suffer unto death as Christ did. Would that we all could see at least as did this good saint; would that we all could be made to know that we are "mud" and "dross." Would we could stand, as he, in anguish over our weakness, instead of having a feeling of such self-complacency over our failings as Christians:

> "He stood in anguish in the field;
> A little wind blew by,
> The dead leaves dropped, the great stars wheeled
> Their squadrons in the sky."

The Secret of Christian Courage Comes

With a mighty resolve to conquer his cowardice and let

Christian courage take complete possession of his cringing soul, the saint leaps from the tree to the ground with a cry:

"'Lord, I will try again,' he said,
'Though all hell's devils tear.
This time I will not be afraid
And what is sent I'll dare.'"

Then the birds of the forest came to tell him the secret of conquering the hounds of hell. It was a simple thing, as such always is. It was merely the secret of using that which is within any good man:

"And as the saint drew near, he heard
The birds talk, each to each,
The fire-bird to the glory-bird;
He understood their speech.

"One said, 'The saint was terrified
Because the hunters came.'
Another said, 'The bloodhounds cried
And all their eyes were flame.'

"Another said, 'No shame to him,
For mortal men are blind,
They cannot see beyond the grim
Into the peace behind.'

"Another said, 'They cannot know,
Unless we give the clue,
The power that waits in them below
The thing they are to do.'

"Another sang, 'They never guess
That deep within them stand
Courage and peace and loveliness,
Wisdom and skill of hand.'"

Then after making all excuse for this good saint they sang him the secret:

"'Open the doors, good saint,' they cried,
'Pass deeper to your soul;
There is a spirit in your side
That hell cannot control!'"

Those four lines ought to stand all alone for sake of emphasis, for they are freighted with significance; freighted like our transports crossing the Atlantic during war times; freighted to their last capacity:

"There is a spirit in your side
That hell cannot control!"

And then the birds continue:

"'Open the doors to let him in,
That beauty with the sword;
The hounds are silly shapes of sin,
They shrivel at a word.'"

The strength of sin is often overestimated. It was so with the German tradition and hallucination and bugaboo. No sane man would underestimate, even in retrospect, the strength of forty years of preparation, but the fact remains as we who were in France discovered, that in spirit the Germans were not so terrible as the peace-loving Americans.

Sing for the Setting Free of Men!

When the good saint in Masefield's new poem found the strength that was from within his own soul, he lost all fear and went out after sin in the form of the hounds of hell fearlessly and ruthlessly. Finally he cornered them and talked straight to their cringing souls:

"Saint Withiel let the hell hounds rave.
He cried, 'Now in this place,
Climb down, you huntsmen of the grave,
And let me see your face!

"'Climb down, you huntsmen out of hell,
And show me what you are.
The judge was stricken on the bell,
Now answer at the bar!

"'Show me. What are you?' said the saint.
A hollow murmur spoke.
'This, Lord,' it said; a hand moved faint
And drew aside the cloak."

"A Woman Death, that palsy shook,
Stood sick and dwindling there;
Her fingers were a bony crook
And blood was on her hair."

And so it is that most frequently we find that sin hides behind the robes of weakness. Terror is without, but cowardice is within,

when the outer cloak is torn aside. Sin is always a coward. And "pure purpose is fearless!"

"'Stretch out your hands and sign the Cross,'
Was all Saint Withiel said.
The bloodhounds moaned upon the moss,
The Woman Death obeyed.

"Whimpering with pain, she made the sign.
'Go! Devil Hag!' said he,
'Beyond all help of bread and wine,
Beyond all land and sea.'"

It is God's triumph over Satan, it is good's triumph over evil, it is right's triumph over wrong, that Masefield has set down for us in the "Hounds of Hell." And no wonder there was rejoicing in the world: It reminds one of the rejoicing in "The Everlasting Mercy" when Saul Kane was converted:

"The cock, that scares the ghost from earth,
Crowed as they dwindled down;
The red sun, happy in its birth,
Strode up above the town.

"Sweetly above the sunny wold
The bells of churches rang;
The sheep-bells clinked within the fold,
And the larks went up and sang—

"Sang for the setting free of men
From devils that destroyed.
The lark, the robin, and the wren,
They joyed and overjoyed.

"Till round the saint the singing made
A beauty in the air,
An ecstasy that cannot fade,
But is forever there."

Wm L Stidger

WHY IS THE PREACHER?

THE question is superfluous. Besides, the answer is too obvious. It is what the lawyers would call a leading question. It is the kind of question solicitous Sunday school teachers who are not at all sure that the pupil is prepared with his lesson are apt to ask. The answer grins at you out of the question itself.

Query: Why is the preacher?

Answer: The preacher is to preach.

Just so, only like so many obvious things in this fascinating world the obvious answer turns out to be no answer at all. It simply pushes the real query back another notch. It meets the difficulty by postponing it. In its easy evasion it gives birth to a whole brood of other queries. The preacher is to preach? Very well, but why should he preach? Who wants him to preach? How is he to do it? Where? When? What is preaching? Perhaps the last question comes near to touching bottom. What is preaching? If we can make sure what preaching is, it may be we can answer the question with which we started—why is the preacher?

"Preach." The dictionary says it is a transitive verb. The first meaning my own particular dictionary gives is: "To deliver, as a sermon or discourse on a text of Scripture or some religious topic." That is, my dictionary, with charming and characteristic lucidity, says, "To preach is—to preach." That helps only a little way. The second attempt of my dictionary to tell me what preaching is reads thus: "To advocate; to set forth, teach or recommend urgently." That's the dictionary's second word. And so it goes on with slight variations in phraseology, until it arrives at the fifth and last attempt, which is: "To proclaim as a public announcement; publish as tidings; utter as the message of a herald." Going over from "preach," the transitive verb, to "preacher," the common noun, the dictionary would have it that the preacher is the sermonizer, the advocate, the expositor, the teacher, the proclaimer, the publisher, the herald.

That is a formidable list of synonyms. It ought to help us

greatly, and we ought, perhaps, to be satisfied with it. And so we would were it not that the elusive answer we are seeking still eludes us. The tantalizing "why," "what," "when," "where," and "how" may be placed after each of these definitive meanings. The preacher a sermonizer? But why? of what? when? where? how? The preacher an advocate? But why? of what? when? where? how? No, the dictionary does not arrive. It gets us somewhere, but unfortunately not where we want to go. It does help us, but it helps us principally in the matter of method. In the matter of reason it does not help us at all. The reason for the preacher lies outside of books. It is in man. It is in the majestic mystery of human personality. It is in this tangled skein of states of consciousness, moods, tempers, proclivities, possessions, and poverties that make up human life. The real answer to the question, "Why is the preacher?" lies buried deep in the constitution of the human soul.

Books have been written on preaching—shelves of them, libraries of them; but no book has ever solved the mystery of the why of it, and no book has ever answered clearly and finally the how of it. Many great preachers have undertaken to tell us how to preach. Spurgeon has, and Parker has, and Beecher has, and Simpson has, and Jefferson, and Cadman, and McDowell have. But what they tell us is not the secret. We lay down their books with the vague feeling that not only has the secret eluded us, it has eluded them. They could preach, or they can, gloriously; but they cannot tell us how they do it. They have the secret, but do not seem to know what it is or where it is. The New England housewife's recipe for cream pie is a model of clearness compared with the great preacher's recipe for preaching. She says, "First make your crust, then have your cream just right; then put them together and bake them, and you have cream pie." Certainly. That's clear enough as far as it goes. So is the great preacher's recipe for preaching; but both of them explain what is already perfectly obvious. The things we don't know are the secrets of "the crust" and that "just right" of the cream. If we could get them, maybe we could put them together ourselves. So the great preacher tells us with wonderful wealth of detail what we already know, while what

we want to know seems no clearer to him than it is to us, except that he *can* make the pie. He is helpful to us about this far. He quickens within us the desire to know what he cannot tell, and deepens our sense of mystery and admiration in the presence of the preacher.

But if the great preacher cannot tell us the how of preaching, he surely cannot tell us the why of it. It so happens that one of the greatest of preachers has tried to tell us the why of his preaching. He says: "For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel." Necessity was laid upon him. He was under compulsion. He had to preach. Woe unto him was inevitable if he did not preach. That is clear and altogether admirable as far as it goes, but it won't do for the final answer. It omits one vital factor in all preaching, and that is somebody to preach to. You can't answer the question, "Why is the preacher?" apart from that somebody; that is, apart from the congregation. Separate the preacher from the congregation, and the preacher is not a preacher; he is only a man—one man. He may be a man burning to preach, desiring to advocate, zealous to expound, eager to teach, anxious to proclaim, willing to publish, aspiring to herald; but he is a man, and not a preacher. To make the man into the preacher you must have the other man in. That other man is the congregation. The preacher does not exist apart from the congregation. The congregation is the other half of the preacher, his complement. The congregation cannot be a congregation without the preacher. The preacher cannot be a preacher without the congregation.

Coming thus far with our question, "Why is the preacher?" we are dismayed to see it plunge into that forbidden despair of the philosophers, the infinite series. If we have to have the congregation in to explain the preacher, we must treat the congregation with as much respect as we accord to the preacher, and ask, "Why is the congregation?" That query resolves itself into other and more elusive "whys" that afford no resting place for the mind, and breeds a mental condition that is not far from insanity.

What shall we do? What can we do? Why, do what every

Christian philosopher is bound to do—take the short cut boldly. Avoid the infinite series by beginning with "The Infinite." Make answer bravely.

Query: Why is the preacher?

Answer: God.

That gets us somewhere. It gets us to a very wonderful where, a glorious where. Why is the preacher? God.

If it should chance that in this way lies the secret; if here we come as near as we can come to the mysterious center that no one can completely reveal, we have come at the same time to the fact that clears up for us the external indispensable of preaching, and the inward propulsion of the preacher. Let us begin with that external indispensable, the preacher's complement, the thing without which the preacher is not the preacher—that is, the congregation.

The congregation is explicable only in the terms of God. "God is a spirit," says our Master. That is the ultimate definition not only of God but of the congregation. Two or six or a hundred or a thousand come together because resolved into individual units, the congregation is a spirit. It is this naked last reality of life that explains the congregation. It is the spiritual alone that can explain it. Here are haunting moods and memories and dreams and hopes and fears and flashing certainties and recurring doubts and vagrant despairs and pitiful yearnings and intermittent faiths. These can be explained only in the terms of the spirit. The congregation is man unconsciously affirming he is God. The congregation is the human blindly avowing it is divine. The congregation is the human soul listening. The congregation is the human spirit pioneering. The congregation is the divinity within us, measuring itself upon the Divinity above us and about us. The congregation is idealism inarticulate, altruism potential, faith groping, love waiting. The congregation is courage stirring, fear cringing, cupidity tempting, the flesh craving, the eye lusting, conscience struggling, chivalry challenging. It is God in the human life. The congregation is an august and solemn and heart-breaking thing. In its last meanings, the congregation must inspire awe. The preacher who sees the congregation will be crushed

to his knees. He will fall prostrate with his face in the dust. He will know, once and for all, the awful and glorious truth of *his* inadequacy. And this is altogether true whether the congregation is a dozen or a thousand. To see the congregation will silence the preacher. There is a mother with pitiful, empty arms; a father bowed in the dust of a son's shame; a husband victim to a paralyzing fear; a wife whose smiling face masks a broken heart; youth is here, vibrant with the challenge of life; childhood awakening to record in imperishable terms of character a glory or a doom; here are the elemental things, measureless potencies and possibilities; things awful and sublime. In their sum total, they make the necessary complement of the preacher—his congregation. They crush him even as they complete him. If he has no sense of them, though he speaks with the tongues of men and angels, and though he has the gift of prophecy, and understands all mysteries and knowledge, and has all faith so that he could remove mountains, it will not avail. He will not preach; he cannot. Without that vision of the congregation, the preacher is no preacher at all, but only false simulacrum of a preacher; that saddest and dreariest and deadliest of all living lies, a make-believe preacher.

Then just as the ultimate definition of the congregation is God, so God is the first and last explanation of the preacher. The man *is* inadequate unless you include God in man. The man alone is the final presumption, the ultimate blasphemy, the sin against the Holy Ghost. God in the congregation crushing the preacher to his knees, making him fall prostrate upon his face; making him afraid with nameless fear, and silent in speechless awe, must be the God in the preacher, lifting him up, touching his lips with fire, giving the text to the sermon, the plea to the advocate, the truth to the expositor, the lesson to the teacher, the impulse to the proclaimer, the word to the publisher, and the tidings to the herald.

Why is the preacher? God. That's the answer, not in definitive terms (for the ultimate definition must ever elude us), but in terms of external circumstance and inward propulsion that justify our failure in logic. God in the preacher, to meet that inarticulate idealism and give it tongue to sing gloriously; God

in the preacher, to lift that altruism potential into the actual; God in the preacher, to teach love the way to the ultimate Love; God in the preacher, to assure hope that its shining star is of those primal stars that sang together in creation's morning.

So I answer my own question. Why is the preacher? God. That is the only adequate "why" of the preacher. That is the last answer, and the best; not definitively, and categorically, with perfect and nicely articulated formula of logic; but in rough, passionate, hurrying need for an answer, if there is to be any answer at all, it must be that answer—God. So to me, at any rate, despite our bewailing the passing of the great preacher, it seems that every preacher is the great preacher, or else is just no preacher at all. I find him in the city, where the currents of humanity run deep and strong, and the sound of hurrying feet is as the march of armies, and the rush of life is as the noise of battle. I find him in the country, where the out-of-doors overarches with vast and silent dome the humble house of worship. I find him in the villages and hamlets, and in homes where babies are born, and sickness comes, and where men and women build their frail securities around treasures of priceless worth. Wherever men live and labor and love and strive and fear and die, I find the great preacher. And whenever I find him, something within me does him reverence, as I hear a voice that is not his voice, saying in his behalf, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Show us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father and the Father in me? The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works."

So, the answer to this question (that is, the last, final answer) I eagerly, gladly find where I must find the ultimate answer to all my questions—God.

Wallace H. Rice

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

REDEEMING THE TIME

A MESSAGE FOR THE NEW YEAR

"REDEEM the time, for the days are evil"—such is Saint Paul's counsel to the Ephesians. A more literal, perhaps, and more striking rendering would be, "Buy up the opportunity, for the times are hard." Hard times are the best times for making investments, for prices are lowest then. Life's evil days, when earthly values shrink, are the chance of the soul to win the things of eternal worth. So heaven can enrich itself with the spoils of time, and build its walls of beauty out of the ruins of this world.

The supreme meaning of life is probation. Opportunity is the precious diamond in the golden setting of the days. It is scarcity of supply that makes value and of nothing is heaven so parsimonious as of time. A million flowers may deck the meadows and ten thousand stars sparkle on the brow of night, but we never have more than a single moment in our grasp at once. It is a moving point where past and future meet in the crisis of the journeying present. It will not pause for us. No human hand can arrest the sun in his course, or—

> "Nail the wild star in his track
> Up the half-climbed zodiac."

Perhaps its best type is the flowing river, reflecting sky and landscape; the images seem to abide, but the river flows on. Everything is going past the soul; mountains, stars, flowers, and seas, even the body passes by. What are we saving out of the wreckage of the wasting years?

"Redeem"—that word implies getting back something already pledged in pawn. Have we not given our souls in mortgage to Mammon, care, and pleasure? Have we not crowded the moments with trifles that may shut eternity out? How can we get time away from these pawnbrokers that have cheated us and employ it for God? In the

strictest sense, we cannot; lost opportunities cannot be brought back. "Where are the snows of yesteryear?" is the exquisite refrain of Villon. Nothing is more tragic than this irrevocable character of human choice. God says "To-day," the devil says "By-and-by," and the road of by-and-by leads to the house of never.

How, then, can we redeem the time? Simply by the wise use of the present. Even secular success depends on buying up these precious chances. There cannot be found a great name in history that was not careful in the economy of time. Alfred the Great divided the twenty-four hours of the day into three periods of eight hours each, for rest, refreshment, and toil. Sir William Jones wrote:

> "Seven hours for sleep, for the law's grave study seven,
> Nine to the world allow, and all to heaven."

Hardly one of us but could learn a language, master a science, or acquire an art, by hoarding the minutes squandered uselessly.

We can buy up the opportunity by crowding eternity into time; we can make the fleeting moment big with the glory of an eternal thought. As the brook in its quiet moments may hear the voice of ocean calling, so may we bring into our passing lives the music of heaven. With one gasp of mortality we can inhale the breath of immortality; with one earthly pulsebeat we can enter into the great heart throb of Infinite Love; with the failing grasp of our dying hand, we may seize and secure the help of the Almighty One. The moments of time, like the sands of the seashore, are scattered and separate. But sand can be fused into transparent glass, even into lenses that will reveal the hidden splendor of unseen and distant stars. So may a splendid purpose, blessed of God, fuse the separate moments of life into a soul's achievement of character which shall give to these dying eyes a glimpse of the eternal and divine.

God makes much of opportunity in the warnings of his book. He speaks of a "day of salvation," "an accepted time," and "an appointed time." Time is made for mercy and eternity for justice. The cross of pardon is set up on the earth, but the throne of judgment is in the skies. "The days are evil," says the apostle; that may mean just the best chance for a big bargain for the soul. Perhaps we have missed the best chance and have fallen on evil days. Then, for God's sake, let us make the most of what is left us. On a sundial were written these words, "Now? or When?"

CAN A UNIVERSITY BE CHRISTIAN?

CAN a university be Christian? is the question which Dr. Harold Paul Sloan discusses with much ability and elaboration in this issue of the REVIEW. Of course, all Christians must and will answer that inquiry in the affirmative. A university not only can, but ought to be Christian. All persons and things which are not Christian are outside of the world order. Any government, business, or society which is not Christian is a body without a soul. For Christianity is life. True religion can never regard any human interest as a "side line."

> "There are no Pagan pines or heathen flowers,
> The wayside weed is sacred unto him."

Jesus Christ is not only the Way and the Life, but also the Truth, and the final interpretation of things is ethical and spiritual.

But this does not imply that the Christian College or even the Christian Church, is in bondage to any body of confessional beliefs, any more than it is committed to any institutional forms. Religious thinking did not become crystallized into fixed formulas at the Nicene Council, the Westminster Assembly of Divines, or even the Christmas Conference of 1784. The Christological controversy over the vowel *iota* has little significance to those of us who have rebelled from the rule of Aristotle. We have found the divine values in Jesus of Nazareth, and can find them in their fullness nowhere else—therefore we worship him as the only God of our salvation. We will state the doctrine of his Deity for ourselves in the terms of every new philosophy that men set forth, but we will believe it savingly, not in terms of intellect, but of life. For this reason, it will always be safer to make the Apostles' Creed, rather than the Nicene, the common confession of Christendom. The latter, with its use of metaphysical phrase, will be certain of artificial interpretation in an age in whose philosophic faith such words as *ousia* and *hypostasis* have lost their Greek meanings. The former is saved from scientific change by its statement of the living truths in terms of life and of history rather than those of reflective thought.

There are no fixed faiths even in natural science. Her "chosen beliefs," or working hypotheses, need continual restatement to accommodate them to the fresh discovery of facts. Even Newton's theory of gravitation, including the formula of "inverse squares," has been shaken by the Einstein doctrine of Relativity which has found

scientific proof in the deflection of the rays of light, revealed by measurements in a recent eclipse. Even the Euclidean geometry furnishes us no necessary truths. Most of the axioms on which it rests are not judgments of reality but definitions, while others, such as the one on parallel lines, are postulates without proof, based upon an assumed three-dimensional space. As Poincaré, one of the greatest of modern mathematicians, says, "There are no true, but only convenient geometries." In applied science to-day, especially in the realm of electricity, algebraic formula are constantly used, which could be given no geometric expression, excepting on the assumption of Non-Euclidean space.

The biological doctrine of evolution is another case in point. It is far older than Darwin as a theory. Even John Wesley seems to have held to the continuity of living organisms, using the Latin phrase, *non per saltum,* not by leaps, to describe the chain which links nothing to Deity. He recommended as the best work on natural philosophy that of Buddaeus, of Jena, one of the outstanding pre-Darwinian evolutionists. Darwin's doctrine has undergone great modifications since the publication of his epoch-making book the Origin of Species. The Neo-Lamarkian statement, which seems to prevail to-day, furnishes room for both Catastrophists and Uniformitarians, while Weissmann's teaching of the non-transmission of acquired traits was a very partially successful attempt to reconcile teleology with mechanism. De Vries's theory of "mutations" made room for the recognition of sudden change. Above all, Prince Kropotkin gave the final blow to the idea that the last word of science was a pitiless individual struggle for life, by showing that "mutual aid" played an enormous part in the survival of species, a truth which Benjamin Kidd nobly developed in his Social Evolution. The evolutionary doctrine, like any other working hypothesis, is compelled to readjust its statement, not only to physical facts as newly discovered, but also to the realities of the moral and spiritual realm. If the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel had been written in the twentieth century rather than the first, the writer might possibly have framed his glorious conception of the progressive self-revelation of God in other terms than those of an Alexandrian philosophy. That would not have altered the eternal truth, but merely the changing temporal expression of it.

With these interpretations and reservations we can accept Dr. Sloan's conception of a Christian university, remembering that

scientific investigation must be without any metaphysical presuppositions whatsoever, if it is to be scientific. It was by such *a priori* assumptions that rationalism dominated too largely the teaching of the nineteenth century, and brought about that intellectual bankruptcy that has caused the world-chaos to-day. The mundane theory of the world broke down. To build the teaching of to-morrow on theological rationalism would threaten a spiritual sterility not less perilous to our planet.

Paganism still survives in many institutions of learning. But it has become, for the most part, only a relic of yesterday. There it little talk at present of the conflict between science and religion. College students have many faults, born of class-psychology, but on the whole they rank higher, both morally and religiously, than any body of young folks taken haphazard from any other social groups. This is true even of the secular schools, which ought, however, to receive much more care from the spiritual forces than they enjoy at present.

Dr. Sloan truly says that "Christianity speaks to the whole heart and conscience of man as well as his reason." And this furnishes the finest solution of the problem, "Can a university be Christian?" We can make it Christian by creating a Kingdom climate in academic precincts, by a crusade to make both professors and pupils Christians, not merely in their intellectual beliefs, but in heart and life. The Christian heart and conscience will serve to create the Christian mind.

THE PREACHER AND THE PROFESSOR

Are the conclusions of modern biblical scholarship a religious asset or liability? Now that the critical war is assumed to be won, will Christian faith be penalized with heavy indemnities, or will it have a share in the dividends of victory? Have the critical scholars of our generation been plowing desert sands, or have they been fertilizing the soil of scientific thought for a greater harvest of holy living? Has the professor helped or hurt the work of the preacher?

Some account of this critical material must be taken in the task of the Christian minister, not so much by furnishing fresh homiletical material, as by creating a new atmosphere in which his message is delivered. Ibsen puts a profound saying in the mouth of one of his characters: "The eye, born anew, transforms the old action."

It is the purpose of the Editorial Department of the REVIEW, in this and following issues, to attempt an answer to these pressing questions. May it prove a tonic to the timid and an anodyne to the audacious! While primarily a message from a preacher to preachers, it may also be of use in stilling the tumult in the minds and hearts of many perplexed but loyal laymen.[1]

All times of theological transition are times of trial to the church and of testing to its teaching, and in all such times the brunt of the battle must be borne by the Christian minister, for it is he who must bring the new truth to the touch of life. The final assay of the ore digged up by the scientific investigator in the mines of religious history must be made by the preacher. This is preeminently true of these problems raised by the critical reconstruction of biblical history and literature. How far has the message of the Bible become obsolete through the change of attitude as to its origin and structure? Has its spiritual force as an aid in right living been in any way diminished? These questions the minister must meet, and upon his intelligent loyalty in answering them will depend the religious life of the Christian Church in the coming generation.

Christian preaching is still the chief external source of religious knowledge to the people. The Bible itself is a means of grace largely through the public proclamation of its message from the pulpit. As Coleridge states it in his Literary Remains (notes on Donne): "The preacher is the point of junction between the written word and the church, the sensible voice of the Holy Spirit." He is "steward of the mysteries of God." The prevalence to-day of the printed page has lessened but little the power of uttered truth. It is still by the "foolishness of preaching" that God proposes to save man. Like the prophet of old, the preacher is God's spokesman, and the pulpit is the tribune from which the divine oracles are made known.

The Bible is therefore preeminently the preacher's book. It is in fact the literary prolongation of the prophetic vision and message and of the apostolic testimony and teaching. In their call and consecration, the modern minister finds the genesis of his office, and the sermon is but the continuation and development of the sacred message that they delivered. He must be so saturated with the contents and the spirit of the Book that he shall become a living Bible. The ideal of

[1] With the permission of The Methodist Book Concern, full use will be made in these discussions of a booklet on Biblical Criticism and Preaching, by the present Editor of the METHODIST REVIEW, published in 1912, but now out of print, the edition having been exhausted.

the preacher is well portrayed in the words spoken by Lamartine of the young Bossuet: "The child became a prophet. Such he was born and such he was as he grew to manhood, lived and died, *the Bible transfused into a man.*"

The Christian preacher, however, exercises other functions than those of the Hebrew prophet. He is the successor of the scribe as well. To the prophetic office he must add the work of the teacher. He must be both seer and scholar. It is the separation of these functions made necessary by the growing complexity of truth and life which has in large measure created the antagonism between criticism and orthodoxy. Theoretical scholarship has been in part divorced from practical piety. The professor and the preacher see the truth of God from a very different standpoint. The Christian scholar has, indeed, a sacred ministry to perform, but it is one quite subordinate to the proclamation of the evangel of Christ. The aim of the student is truth for its own sake; the aim of the preacher is the realization of truth in personality. It will therefore be the preacher, and not the professor, who must say the final word; for the appeal to life, to spiritual reality, is the final test of truth itself. The pulpit and the chair need each other; the former needs to gain the courage and loyalty to truth born of scientific method, and the latter the practical sense and vital atmosphere of the evangelistic passion. The battle will be over and peace will come when the preacher finds out that the results of critical study have a real value for life, and the professor that truth in its wholeness cannot be discovered or live in the intellectual vacuum from which the vital air of feeling has been pumped by the reason. The appeal to life will free the professor from academic narrowness, while respect for scientific methods will preserve the preacher from dogmatism. The pragmatic test of truth which dominates philosophy to-day is itself a teaching of the gospel of Christ.

There is really nothing novel in the situation. The church has met similar crises again and again, and in every case has found the gain greater than the loss. She met the reflective thought of Greece and assimilated its philosophy into the great Catholic creeds; she met the institutional genius of Rome and won from it an external organism by which she survived the political and intellectual chaos of the Dark Ages; she met the humanism of the Renaissance and transformed its spirit into the Protestant Reformation; she met the invasion of physical science only to find fresh illustrations of spiritual truth. Even heresy has been a help rather than a hindrance in the

final analysis. No heretical leader has ever brought forth any fruitful teaching. Only the seeds of truth sown by the great Catholic creeds live in the forest of the religious thinking of the present age, but the criticisms of heretical opposition have helped greatly to clear them of rubbish and clarify their meaning. A little knowledge of religious history would serve to allay our alarm and to inspire courage at this present crisis.

The preacher, as Schiller says of the poet, should be the child, but not the slave, of his age. Because preaching is a message out of life and to life, he must be in touch with the time-spirit while he feels the breath of the Eternal Spirit. If he wants to make the Book of God live for modern uses, he must take counsel of all learning that throws any light upon its origin and structure or may find any fresh light in its message. It is a great joy to the true minister of the mysteries of God to breathe the stimulating air of an age that analyzes rather than systematizes. Preaching has become a harder but more vital task; it is an adventure into an uncharted sea, full of possible peril, but also aglow with the promise of fresh discovery, of new continents of truth rising out of the dangerous deep. He need not fear that any new realms added to human hope and experience will fail to inherit all the real wealth of the lands left behind in his exploration. He will, rather, realize Jesus's description of the scribe who is well instructed in the Kingdom (Matt. 13. 52), who knows how to give continuous life to both the new and the old, and who, out of the inexhaustible treasure hoard of truth, brings to his people new meanings in the old teaching, and shows the old life burgeoning and blossoming in the fresh beauty of new statement.

No such adventure can be without its perils. The problem raised by the critical position is real and must not be ignored or denied. All freedom has its dangers. He who has confused his faith with ceremonialism will feel the foundations going when forms of worship are discarded, and those who have confounded trust in a Living Person with acquiescence in a verbal formula may surrender their hope when the formulas are abandoned. These are dangers to weak and timid rather than to strong and brave souls. It needed all the logical genius and ethical enthusiasm of Paul to save his doctrine of justification from being the occasion of antinomian folly. But it must always be remembered that this panic and consequent peril have been chiefly created, not by the critics, but by their opponents, by a traditionalism which has produced a pattern of piety resting

upon human opinion rather than upon the revelation of God. A religion had at second hand through the medium of any visible authority must be shaken and fall when its basis of authority is discredited. A devout but ignorant Romanist woman, who broke the china crucifix which she was accustomed to use in her devotions, cried in dismay, "Now I have nothing but the great God to trust in!" In most cases when folks have apostatized because some new discovery seemed to discredit a traditional belief, the chances are that their religion was one of dogmatic assumption, of creedal assent rather than of vital experience. The relations of the soul to God must not be entangled with any human traditions or any external authority. The preacher or teacher who does this is worse than a bungler who daubs with untempered mortar in the building of character; he is a false prophet who has perverted the gospel by mixing it with the traditions of men.

But the critics themselves have not been without blame in this matter. They have not all been men of richly endowed spiritual natures. It is an unfortunate accident of history that this new intellectual discipline has been so largely exploited by rationalistic theologians, who have corrupted critical methods by mixing them with uncritical presuppositions born of *a priori* speculative theories. This has led many good but uninstructed folks to confuse what is called Higher Criticism with the rationalistic rejection of the supernatural and the wholesale denial of the historic value of Holy Scripture. Much of this mischief has been wrought by this mixture of philosophical with historical and literary criticism. In making this admission it must also be remembered that an uncritical dogmatism has itself been largely responsible for the creation of rationalism, and that the latter renders a real service when it aids in destroying an unspiritual traditionalism. The iconoclast is never wholly wise; he often destroys many a lovely form of the past which might well be spared. His hammer is apt to fall with little discrimination upon a hideous Mumbo Jumbo and a lovely Apollo Belvedere. Yet the work even of the negative critic may be of the highest value; such criticism is a cleansing fire which cannot but refine the gold of Divine Revelation while consuming its dross. Just as proud and persecuting Egypt endowed departing Israel with her wealth, so will even an undevout scholarship be compelled to put its treasures of learning at the service of supernatural religion. Criticism needs transplanting from the frigid climate, where it has produced stunted and abnormal growths,

into the warmer region of evangelical faith, where it will bring forth rich harvests both of truth and life. For its highest service it requires spiritual insight and sympathy, even as artistic criticism requires artistic feeling. Yet it would be a very foolish painter or musician who refused to learn from the professors of optics and acoustics on the ground that many of them had shown deficient perception of artistic beauty. It is equally absurd for the preacher to refuse to profit by the research of the professor, because the latter may have been a little dry and juiceless in his spiritual quality.

Here emerges one supreme danger for the preacher. He is rarely an expert in any department of theological training. He is in peril of academic pedantry on the one hand and of shallow sciolism on the other. The silly pretence of omniscience and intellectual superiority, the itch for novelty, and the longing to be hailed as an "advanced thinker," affectation of up-to-dateness and modernity, the premature exploitation of undigested erudition and unseasoned theories—these are some of the ways in which the pulpit has discredited the patient toil of the professor and aroused unworthy suspicion of the true spirit and character of the new learning. Nothing could be more sterile than such a ministry. As Hatch has shown, the modern preacher is too often the successor of the Greek sophist rather than of the New Testament prophet.[2] Such preachers pervert the very purpose of the pulpit. While the sermon must take cognizance of all science, real preaching is pre-scientific; like poetry and literature, it deals with concrete realities, not with intellectual formulas or logical abstractions. To be instructive it must be constructive and not destructive. The preacher is in the pulpit to proclaim spiritual certainties and not philosophical negations. Not human opinion but the word of Jehovah is the theme of the prophet. The sermon is an action inspired by divine Power and not a treatise on the details of human knowledge. To make the analysis of the Hexateuch, the partition of Isaiah, the date of Daniel, or the synoptic problem the subject of that piece of sacred rhetoric we call the sermon, is to prostitute the positiveness of the prophetic message. The preacher becomes a phonograph of earthly theories and is no more the spokesman of the eternal. The finest fruit of the critical method, which is to free scholarship from dogmatism, has failed to ripen in such a minister; he is still the victim of the vicious intellectualism from which he fancies he has escaped.

[2] Hibbert Lectures, 1888, iv.

THE CASUISTRY OF THE PULPIT

The preacher in his pulpit faces a more perplexing problem than the professor in his lecture-room. The former deals with a mass, the latter with a class. The minister's message, therefore, must be adapted both to the understanding and the needs of the "man in the street." This raises a casuistic question of the greatest delicacy.

The minister's conscience is not scientific but pastoral. He has the care of souls and never dares forget the needs of his flock, the weak and the timid as well as the strong and the mature. He will never go out of his way to gratuitously insult a conventional belief. He knows that many institutions and ideas have won a sanctity by their association with the holiest experiences. He will not wantonly attack such reverences until he has given more worthy objects of devotion. He will not take away the cripple's crutches until he has taught him to walk without them. Nor will he resort to brutal methods to disillusion souls of their dear delusions. He will never, schoolboy-like, set off fireworks just to make a sensation and wake up folks. The Christian congregation is made up of a heterogeneous audience. There are the old, whose habits of thought are crystallized and cannot be broken up without much mental and moral distress; there are the young, who still need scholastic drill and are ill prepared for the subtleties of science. Ignorance has its rights and the preacher must recognize them. It is a terrible thing to lose old reverence while new knowledge is being acquired. It is a delicate and difficult task to guide souls through times of transition and save from wasting the precious wine of the Kingdom while we are being compelled to change the pattern of the bottles!

> Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell,
> That mind and soul, according well,
> May make one music as before.
>
> Tennyson: *In Memoriam.*

This duty of caution and consideration for the rights of the unlearned involves a moral danger. Courage and candor are the very soul of the prophetic spirit, and they must not be killed by cowardly caution. The gravest suspicion in which the modern pulpit is involved is that of intellectual dishonesty. Care must be taken that the noble reticence of a loving tenderness for the timid is not mistaken

for, or does not become, an ignoble reserve as to the royalty of truth itself. Yet this caution is commanded by our very loyalty to truth; it is the very essence of the scientific spirit to combine caution with courage—caution in its method and courage in accepting the farthest consequences of that method. It is not dishonest to utter opinions with reserve and convictions with assurance; it is not uncandid to be silent about tentative conclusions which in the very nature of the case are subject to revision. We are to declare the whole counsel of God, but not necessarily the whole result of scholarship, and certainly not the detailed processes by which its positive results are reached. To bring the methods of the library and laboratory into the pulpit would painfully puzzle not only the weak brother, but also the strong folk of the congregation. The preacher will do well to have an efficient smoke-consumer on his thinking engine, lest he not only cloud the minds of his hearers, but himself suffocate in the rank vapor of his doubts. "Religion," says Carlyle, "is not a doubt; it is a certainty or else a mockery and a horror. None of all the many things we are in doubt about, and need to have demonstrated, and rendered probable, can by any alchemy be made a religion for us, but are, and must continue, a baleful, quiet or inquiet, hypocrisy for us."[1]

The rights of the unlearned must not, however, be so construed as to destroy the intellectual dignity of the pulpit. Paul, with all his tenderness for the weak brother, never consents to compromise his Christian liberty. There is no alliance between faith and ignorance. Intelligent people are quite as well worth saving as fools and ignoramuses. The tragedy of the present situation is not only the panic that seizes the weak and timid, but the "horror of great darkness" which has come down on many people of culture and thought. The weak brother must not so control the casuistry of the Christian conscience as to destroy that liberty in which alone noble natures can be nurtured. We must not, in consideration for frailty, persist in a policy that creates weaklings. The incapacity and unfaithfulness of teachers, which have produced spiritual parasitism, must give place to a ministry whose message shall impart a faith by which man can live first-hand from God. A New Testament advocate of religious progress has put the case in noble words of needed warning to those who persist in giving the milk of the primitive platitudes of piety to those who need strong meat—"the mature who by means of the

[1] Life of John Sterling, Part I, Chap. xv.

spiritual gymnastic have gained critical insight into moral values."[2] The program of the pulpit should be more than the nursing of infantile souls; it should include a scheme of religious education which shall produce full grown lives, not easily swayed by every passing breeze of doctrine, or readily misled by the wiles of error.

Can a higher critic save souls? Certainly, if he has the evangelistic spirit. He cannot save them by higher criticism, no more than the systematic theologian can save them by the science of dogmatics. But we certainly cannot save anybody by the protective policy of ignorance. If the church would keep a good conscience, she must not only accept the assured results of biblical scholarship, but allow those results to form the intellectual atmosphere in which the gospel is proclaimed. In that atmosphere the men and women of our time are actually living. Our appeals to-day must be made to minds unlearned indeed in the details of the new knowledge, but saturated with its spirit, often unfortunately in its most negative forms. There are many souls who can best be saved to the Kingdom of God by the messenger who has mastered the critical method and its results. John William Rountree, an agnostic, testified to his conversion through reading the writings of W. Robertson Smith, the prince of modern biblical critics. George James Romanes, shivering on the frigid boundary between pantheism and atheism, came to a humble Christian faith through the influence of John Gulick, the missionary, who was also a Darwinian evolutionist. Greater than either, Augustine of Hippo has recorded that profound experience of his in which his intellectual revolt at the difficulties and even seeming absurdities of the Scriptures was overcome only when the broad-minded and tolerant Ambrose showed him the spiritual sense, not "of the letter that killeth, but the spirit that giveth life."[3] If the great African bishop had in his hour of darkness fallen into the hands of a reactionary or obscurantist pastor, how different might have been all Christian history since! To expel science from Christian thinking is to try to drive the chariot of salvation on deflated, if not punctured, tires, and to be hopelessly outdistanced in the onward rush of things.

[2] Heb. 5. 12-14 (a free paraphrase).
[3] Confessions, Book VI, § 6.

THE BLESSED BOYHOOD OF JESUS

THE Gospel according to Saint Luke touches the life of our Lord at every point—the Babe in the manger, the Child in Simeon's arms, the boy in the Temple, and the Man of Galilee. It is preeminently the gospel of the Son of man, using his perfect humanity as an organ on which to play the music of his divinity. For the Christ was not less, but more man than the rest of us. His complete humanity serves to reveal his divine nature, just as a flawless crystal transmits the sunlight unstained.

There is a wise reticence in the gospel accounts of the youth of Jesus. There are in them none of the repelling marvels of the apocryphal stories, which, utterly ignoring all natural boyishness, picture him as working absurd and sometimes spiteful miracles. There is no unearthly halo around his brow. He is a truly human child, with a normal physical, mental, and spiritual development. There is no hint of any hotbed precocity; happy is the child who is not born grown-up. The first duty of any child is to be young, and the second is to grow.

If the Saviour of men had appeared full grown, he would have been fatally separated from us; he revealed the worth of childhood to a world that had hitherto disregarded it. Henceforth every babe is "that holy thing," a new memory of Eden bringing back the Golden Age. May we not believe that still, in the depths of his divine consciousness, every fact of his human career abides as a present possession. He is still mighty with the strong and weak with the weak. For the babe, he still lies on his mother's bosom; for the boy, he still plays in the carpenter shop; for the workman, he still toils at his trade.

At the age of adolescence, like every other Jewish boy, he is confirmed as a "son of the law," and goes with his parents to Jerusalem for the great Paschal sacrament. With what delight any child makes the first visit to a great city! We can hear his boyish voice joining in the Pilgrim Psalms: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills whence cometh my help"; "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go up to the house of Jehovah"; "My soul waiteth for the Lord"; up to that final chorus when, standing in the Temple courts, they chanted, "Behold, bless ye Jehovah, all ye servants of Jehovah," and the white-robed priests intoned the answering benediction, "Jehovah, that made heaven and earth, bless thee out of Zion." How his heart

throbbed with an awful gladness at this vision of the city of David, the throne of Solomon, the fortress of the Maccabees, soon to become the scene of his own suffering and the site of his sepulcher. He must have recalled this experience when, twenty years later, he heard other children singing their "hosannas" in the Temple.

Hofmann's lovely picture of "The Boy Jesus in the Temple" can add little or nothing to the exquisite narrative of Luke. The story is a single flower from the secluded garden of his life, plucked just as it was swelling toward full blossom. The lost boy is found, not among the sights and scenes of the strange city, but in his "Father's house." Where else should his sorrowing parents look for him? Not they alone, but every father and mother some time must learn and bear this hard lesson, that their child is no longer wholly theirs, but must live an independent life. It is an awful and lonely moment when the spontaneous life of the child passes into the reflective life of the budding man, when he cries, as Richter put it, "I am a me!" The old routine and formulas will not longer serve; the individual stands out from the tribe, "wrapped in the solitude of his own originality." Every child has two educations, man's and God's, and it is indeed fortunate when these blend in perfect unison.

Then follow eighteen years of waiting whose only record is, "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man." They were not idle years, but filled with a silent growth. It was not a development from the imperfect to the perfect, but rather the constant unfolding of a nature perfect at every stage of its growth. As from the flawless block of marble little by little is disengaged the artist's ideal, so God's pleasure grows with his growth until the full disclosure in his gracious public ministry. Secretly in his spirit is shaping the vision of the Kingdom. His knowledge of his own nature seems to have been a truly human knowledge; from the germ of a unique filial relation to the Father, now realized in the temple courts, it unfolds until fully ready to hear the voice from heaven, "This is my beloved Son!"

Obedience to his earthly parents was a part of his training for divine Sonship. There is never any real conflict between a divine mission and a human duty.

> "O thou whose infant feet were found
> Within thy Father's shrine,
> Whose years with changeless glory crowned,
> Were all alike divine;

"Dependent on thy bounteous breath,
We seek thy grace alone,
In childhood, manhood, age, and death,
To keep us still thine own."

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

Here have I seen things rare and profitable,
Things pleasant, dreadful, things to make me stable
In what I have begun to take in hand;
Then let me think on them and understand
Wherefore they showed me were, and let me be
Thankful, O good Interpreter, to thee.

With these rhymes, from the mouth of Christian in the Pilgrim's Progress, the door is opened to a new editorial department in the Review. Its purpose will be to find forever fresh meanings in the Sacred Book, meanings that fit the life of to-day, to show that the Bible is a book of permanent and unchanging religious value, and so to stimulate a revival of scriptural preaching.

LESSONS FROM PRAGMATIC HISTORY

The prophetic and priestly narratives of the Old Testament, as recorded in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, are what may be called pragmatic history, history written with a purpose. The human story is told from the divine standpoint. The vital thing is not its inerrance of historical detail, but the incessant interpretation of passing events in terms of the religious life. By the supremacy of the ethical and spiritual element in the narrative, the whole account is disenthralled of time, and the Bible becomes a living book, as fresh as this morning's newspaper. Its values are permanent and not transitory. Expository preaching is therefore in the highest degree practical preaching. The following interpretations take up the Hebrew story from the division of the kingdom, and their purpose is to emphasize some present-day values of Holy Scripture.

The Sin of Cheapening Religion

Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, was one of the first great liberals in politics and religion. His heroic revolt against the autocracy set up by Solomon and continued by Rehoboam is the very dawn of democratic institutions. The prophetic historian, who has told the story of the great schism with magnificent fidelity to truth, in spite of his natural religious prejudices, acknowledges the many beneficent results of the disruption of the kingdom in one splendid sentence, "It was of the Lord."

But the wholesome fruits of this great rebellion are not uppermost in the story. Like a monotonous refrain we hear again and again the melancholy phrase, "The sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, by which he made Israel to sin." However desirable liberal movements may be on the whole for the progress of society, the supreme danger is that when

they are taken into the religious sphere, the effect is to cheapen religion and cool its spiritual fervor. Your shrewd, energetic, practical man, immensely useful as a force in business and politics, can do infinite damage when he carries his mechanical methods, coupled with utter lack of higher vision, into the service of the church. The real essence of the sin of Jeroboam is one that is perpetually repeating itself in the history of religion, the sin of applying a worldly policy in God's business and carrying the standards and methods of the market place into the affairs of the soul.

It seemed very prudent and politic to establish local worship in the new kingdom as a means of weaning the people away from Judah and Jerusalem; but it erred fundamentally by making religion a political expedient rather than the creator and inspiration of national life. We must keep politics out of religion if we would preserve the purity and simplicity of this religious life, but if we want to save our souls as a people, we must take all the religion we have into politics. Nothing could be more dangerous than subservience of the pulpit to party, unless it were the complete indifference of the pulpit to politics. The highest influence of the church on the state will be realized when the ministers of religion are not the tools of the party nor the creatures of the state, but utter a prophetic message as a spiritual mandate to society. It is because they stand above and outside the mechanical features of public life that they can see the loftier ideals of political actions. If you want the cock to crow you up in the morning you don't take him to bed with you. We must have an applied Christianity, for when it is not applied it is worse than denied. But we can never make our religion more potent in secular life by secularizing it. Right relations among men will always depend upon right relations with God.

Jeroboam cheapened and defaced religion by pandering to the sensuous instinct for symbolism in worship. Piety becomes easy when ceremony and ritual are substituted for real righteousness. The golden calves at Bethel and Dan, those ancient and venerated shrines, although erected as representations of Jehovah, the God of Israel, soon became the centers of a gross and materialistic worship. Doubtless the king wanted to make the name of Jehovah a support for his dynasty, but he cared very little for the moral and spiritual character of his God. God was not the foundation, but a convenient prop of his throne. (He has his modern counterparts in those public officials of to-day who constantly seek to exploit the church by giving us "days" to observe.) There is a high justification for the use of art in worship, or rather for giving the inward life free expression in the outward forms of music and plastic art, but there is a fearful peril in mistaking æsthetic feeling and cultural refinement for pious devotion. Have we not sinned with Jeroboam in trying to interest people religiously by creating a new festival or manufacturing an imposing service, rather than by appeals to conscience and the spiritual nature?

"Religion made easy," this seems to have been the policy of Jeroboam. Let us serve local prejudice and lazy convenience by having two shrines of national worship instead of one, and besides this, establish "chapels of ease" at all the high places where the local Baals were worshiped in the

Canaanite days. In our modern cities we have upturned multiplied places of worship at the demand of cliques and factions and sought to serve only the indolent folk that cannot go more than five squares to church. In an age of shoddy and the ready-made, it is quite natural for the church to respond to this passion for a religious bargain counter. The religion of form and the religion of feeling still abide as types of the same selfish scheme to evade the law of cost and sacrifice, which inspired the worldly policy of "Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin."

The Contagion of Evil

How the bacilli of sin breed! The power of growth of micro-organisms is so astonishing that a single germ, if it could find food, would create in a month a mass of bacteria greater than the bulk of the earth. Sin has a like power of multiplication and of poisonous activity. The prophetic historians, who have told us the story of Israel, charge all the multiplying woes which at last culminated in the Assyrian invasion and the fall of Samaria to the influence of "Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin." So true is it that "one sinner destroyeth much good."

We are apt to think of human depravity as perpetuating itself chiefly along the lines of physical heredity and to conceive of sin as an infection passed from generation to generation through the mystery of birth. Doubtless the doctrine of birth-sin is true enough, but it is not the whole truth of the growth of evil. Jeroboam founded no dynasty. One after another, military adventurers sat upon the throne he established, but all were infected by the virus of his example and perpetuated his worldly policy of substituting personal ease for pious devotion, and sensuous worship for spiritual aspiration. There is a moral heredity, a spiritual contagion, more dangerous and far-reaching than physical kinship in its results. The more forceful the personality of the sinner, the more potently does his influence infect his own time, and the deeper the shadow of sin and shame that he casts on the coming generations.

Greatest of all his successors on the throne were the kings of the house of Omri. So mighty were they that the Assyrian records have only one name for the kingdom of Northern Israel, "the place of Omri." Victors in war, they also built up the material prosperity of their realm. Samaria, the new capital, sat like a "crown of pride" on its green hill, looking with marble magnificence across the fertile valleys of Ephraim. The nobles of Israel lolled on couches of ivory in luxurious self-indulgence. It was an age of material progress, but the progress was of things and not of men. It is no real advancement which can only mark its steps by artistic beauty, creature comfort, and useful invention. The man who rides in an automobile may be no improvement upon his grandfather in an ox-cart.

Probably the moral weakness of Ahab and his subservience to his strong-willed wife have inclined us to underrate his real greatness as a skilled soldier and strong leader of men. Brave in battle and powerful in peace, his kingdom won respect abroad and flourished in pomp and luxury at home. His error was simply that of Jeroboam; religion is made

a mere tool of political convenience and expediency; the visions of spiritual beauty are exchanged for tawdry dreams of earthly glory, and the true grandeur of nations is forgotten in the pursuit of mundane ideals.

Doubtless it was in furtherance of these low aims of personal and national success that Ahab formed an entangling alliance with Phœnicia by his marriage with the Sidonian princess, Jezebel, who was a very Lady Macbeth in her sway over her husband, and a Catherine de' Medici in her influence on Hebrew history. The contact of the rude simplicity of Israel's life with the specious refinements and æsthetic culture of Phœnicia was fraught with most baleful results. Temples to the Syrian Baal and vile symbols of Astarte were set up in Samaria, pagan priests thronged its streets with the golden image of the sun-god blazing on their breasts, and the licentious priestesses of Canaanitish worship lured the hot-blooded young life of Israel to lust and moral death. No doubt, weak human nature found the new life and worship in many ways more attractive than the stern school of Jehovah's service. In our own age, the preaching of the Cross is foolishness to the world-spirit. The sensuous epicures of the Italian Renaissance, drunken with their decadent sense of beauty, our modern Neo-Pagans who prate of "art for art's sake," the frivolous smart set who live solely for selfish luxury and sensuous indulgence, are all so many modern expressions of the secular scheme of life, against which forever stands opposed Sinai with its thunders and Calvary with its cross.

It does not seem that Ahab wholly renounced Jehovah. The "sin of Jeroboam" is not heathenism, but is the specious religious liberalism which has lost the sense of the supreme authority of the spiritual and moral ideals. Ahab gave pious names to his children, but he also subjected them to contact with the infamous influence of vile heathen rites. Many an American father and mother have their children baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, and yet constantly expose them through social ambition to the infernal trinity of "the world, the flesh, and the devil." Our modern Moloch has reared his shrines of the grog-shop, the brothel, the gambling den, and commercialized amusements everywhere—and every child on his way to school is compelled to pass "through the fire."

A purely worldly policy at last produces national weakness and social corruption. It is time for the fire of God to fall in punishment and purification. And Elijah, the "Prophet of Fire," is on the way.

The Pagan and the Puritan

The dramatic story of Elijah, the prophet, is an early instance of that conflict, repeated again and again in history, between the Puritan and the pagan spirit, between a fleshly and a spiritual ideal of life. It was enacted again in the Maccabean struggle of Hebraism against Hellenism, in the contest between Latin and Teutonic ideals in the Protestant Reformation, and in the seventeenth century revolutions in England, in which the Puritan conquered the Cavalier and fixed the ideals of the modern world.

Ahab was the predecessor in persecution of Pope Alexander VI and the Spanish Inquisition. The protesting prophets of Jehovah were slain or in hiding. One strong and faithful soul still survived. Against Jezebel, the cultivated and vindictive Sidonian princess, is pitted the rude and heroic hermit of the hills beyond Jordan. Elijah appears abruptly; he comes in a tempest, he goes out in a whirlwind. His very name is significant of his mission; Elijah means "Jehovah is my God." He is without pedigree; true nobility is not of blood but of God. His message is from a forsaken God to an apostate people. "As Jehovah liveth"—it is an appeal to the living God as against dead idols. He does not use many words. For the most part his is a silent ministry; it is not a "word epic," but the more strenuous epic of the deathless deed.

All this is not far off in its significance; although it occurred nearly three thousand years ago, it might have happened yesterday. Now, as then, national judgments follow national apostasies. When the cowards and the time-servers have had their day, God's prophets come with the message of doom. "When iniquity has played her part, vengeance leaps on the stage; the comedy is short, the tragedy is long." God has his instrument for every fitting time. The occasion and the man come together; there is always a meteor to blaze out of the blackness. And God's instruments are fitted for their work; he has rough men for rude tasks. There is no weakness of excessive polish about Elijah; it is but scant courtesy that he uses toward the recreant king and the murderous queen. He is as little diplomatic as John Knox, whose harsh speech brought tears to the eyes of Mary Stuart. Much sympathy has been wasted on the beautiful but false Scottish queen. Better the tears of a woman than the blood of a nation. Elijah represents the King of kings, "before whom I stand"; shall he be in awe before the son of Omri? He is a solitary figure, yet he is not alone; the vision of God makes the soul fearless.

In the day of desolation and doom that fell upon Israel, God found a hiding place for his own. For the shadow of Jehovah's wings is everywhere and his servants bear a charmed life. Which was better off during the years of drought, Ahab or Elijah? Which was the more royal abode, the palace or the cave? Who was the truer priest of God in the sixteenth century, Pope Leo X or Martin Luther? Whose was the more kingly soul, that of Charles II or the blind schoolmaster, Milton? God often leads his chosen ones into the desert that they may still more unlearn the fashion of the world. The world is too much with us, its loud, stunning tide deafens us, and we are too little alone. Elijah must have found something congenial to his wild soul in that deep ravine. He comes into that strange sympathy with nature which simple souls like Saint Francis have learned. The true man is at peace with nature; he stops the lion's mouth, and the most cruel of birds shall feed him. This waiting was a superb discipline for the soul. The shrinking brook would seem like the narrowing cells of the Inquisition. And so at last he masters the supreme lesson of absolute dependence upon God. If you have learned it, you are wiser than all philosophers.

But the prophet needs to learn not only sympathy with nature but

with man. So God gives him thoughts of tenderness, by leading him across the famished land and finding a new hiding place on the very borders of the land of Baal with the widow of Zarephath. If in the cave he is strong and stern, wrapped in gloomy thoughts and lonely grandeur, here, in contact with home life and human need, he begins to breathe promises rather than utter threats. And God pays the board of his prophet, and pays well. The voice that checked the fountains of the skies and turned pale the face of the king, now storms the citadel of death and brings back roses to the pallid cheek of the widow's son.

The whole is a lesson in the power of personal influence—seen in Ahab, who corrupted a nation, and in Elijah, who flung himself into the breach and the plague was stayed. Personality is the mightest force in the world. Our age, every age, needs such men, men who can put new life into old methods and make new ones, men who are dynamic and not mechanical.

"One faith against a whole world's unbelief,
One soul against the flesh of all mankind."

THE ARENA

A REFORMER'S CREED, OR WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

I BELIEVE Americanism is that achievement of national unity as an equipment for world service which the nation found it needed at the outbreak of the war, and which need was just as imperative before we found it out. To this end I would insist on the English language as the exclusive basis for American education in all of our public schools up to the eighth grade, and as the medium of communication through every American published newspaper. If we must have foreign language papers in this country there should be an American translation in a parallel column for every line in a strange tongue. We must eliminate these little foreign-language groups segregated from the rest of our people and from the assimilative processes of America, that keep up their old-world customs, planning disloyalty in peace time and plotting treason in war time. One language would be a unifier among us.

I believe in the sovereign right of the people to rule themselves, to make their own government, to write their laws, direct their institutions, and select their officers for executive, judicial and legislative branches of their own service, and shall, therefore, stand for the direct primary in every State. Through it the people can name the candidates of their own parties, after which the same sovereign people may choose between candidates so selected by their parties after the unfit have been weeded out. We should resist every attempt to side-track the direct primary as an assault upon the rights of the people to self-government. We should stand for it against all comers as the primary right of the individual to eliminate the bosses and to govern his own country. And, we should insist upon the initiative, referendum, and the recall as the necessary paraphernalia for

the expression of the people's right to rule their own land and direct their own public servants.

I believe in the strictest kind of law enforcement and in an educational agitation that will hold all officers to the standards of their oath of office from the President who swears to protect, defend, and enforce the Constitution to the sheriff and policemen who are under oath to enforce, without fear or favoritism, the laws of the States and the ordinances of the city. We will, therefore, never consent to the nomination, or if nominated, the election of any man as President of these United States, who opposes prohibition, would be lukewarm in its enforcement or proposes to tinker with the people's law rather than make the law a success and the government a triumph by seeing that the people live up to their own standards. We will follow this policy down the line to governors, sheriffs, district attorneys, and other representatives of the people.

I believe that the protection of the American flag and of all consular service should be withdrawn from any citizen of these United States who goes into Mexico, China, Africa, or any foreign country to engage in a traffic or to perform an act which has been outlawed by the Constitution and statutes of these United States. Our nation cannot consistently involve itself in international difficulties, to protect disloyal citizens of America in doing that against the weaker peoples of other lands which we would put him in jail for doing to our own people at home.

I believe in the anti-gambling crusade which proposes to shut out from the mails, telegraphs, and interstate service the transportation or sale of race track betting odds, their ticket issues and advertisements. We cannot have a great United States and an honorable people, if we disintegrate the business integrity of America and permit the spreading of the gambling mania through our nation's mail, wires, and other public service.

I believe in the anti-prize-fighting movement. Our boys saw enough scenes of blood and fields of carnage during the war without still further brutalizing mankind, by turning bruising and blood-letting into a sport, for the education of our youth away from the higher reaches of their manhood to the lower levels of the brute.

I believe in the red-light abatement laws for every city and State, and the teaching of old-fashioned American morality that stands for the clean life for two, for equal standards of decency for both sexes, for a clean American home life such as our Pilgrim fathers brought to Plymouth Rock and planted on American soil, the fruition of which is American civilization.

I believe in a national censorship and board of supervision for the motion pictures so that one of the greatest industries which has grown in the last decade to marvelous proportions shall help America by its lessons of human uplift and not degrade popular thought and character by purveying base and debauching influences into the minds of our children and youth. These shows should feature the beautiful, clean home life in America and not simply display the looseness and immorality that winds up in the divorce courts.

I believe in a total-abstinence pledge-signing campaign in view of the

help that obstainers are now getting by the removal of the organized and legalized temptation from their path. A man may get liquor in some of our cities if he hunts it, but, thank God, the cities of America are not hunting down men who are glad to quit. And now that prohibition has crippled the public traffic, education and scientific instruction in the effect of alcohol, narcotics, and opiates with appeal to the will through the motives of home life and the power of example, should supplement the purpose of the law by eliminating the private habit. Beer is the most brutalizing beverage known to man. It attacks the last traits that have developed in the human evolution, leaving brutality uncontrolled; and one needs no further proof of this truth, known to apply to individuals, than Germany, where we saw exhibited on a national scale the effects upon a whole population of making beer the national beverage.

I believe in an educational and moral-suasion campaign against the personal use of the doped cigarette which the tobacco trust foisted upon the country in war times. Men who have been able to throw off the nicotine poison in the activities of the field, the march, and the strenuous life of the trench are going to pieces in the sedentary habits which they enter on their return to civil life, and their eyes must be opened to this poisonous habit; and I believe the tobacco trust by its dishonest methods of pushing its work has gone so far beyond the pale of decency that it should be buried in the same grave with the pro-German brewers who trampled on American rights during war time. Their lying advertising, "Cigarettes won the war," should bring a blush of shame to every American who fought or had a loved one in the war.

I believe as the pit of Germany has been uncapped and we have seen what a secularized Christian nation comes to when it casts off the true religion and lest we go the same way, we should insist that our whole Bible, fountain of classic literature, the book that has given us our national ideals and moral standards, the book that taught us the equality of man and the need for his moral betterment, shall come back to the public schools of the United States as it was before certain hyphenated citizens who owe their first allegiance to a foreign potentate, crowded it out of the back door of the little red school-house in four-fifths of our American States. The Book that Washington kissed, that Lincoln loved, that Theodore Roosevelt lived, should return, that educated Americans may have some knowledge of the Book that has made our type of civilization, and that our children may have the intellectual foundation for American morality.

I believe that instead of importing the continental Sunday with its loose morals and low ideals, we should replace our American Sabbath on its civic foundations as it stood before the German-American Alliance trampled it in the mire of our American cities, to establish on its ruins their continental Sunday, foreign to our forms of government and inimical to the morals of our people, adapted to a beer-garden civilization and to bolstering the type of German imperialism that went to its crash. We need the Sabbath day for the sake of the men and women who toil, for the support of the family life of the republic, for the opportunity of the Church

to keep the moral standards parallel with mental advance and material welfare, for the intellectual and religious life of American workers, and for the sake of decent courtesy to the prevailing religion.

I believe that this is a Christian nation, that the Supreme Court was right when it declared it so and said that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are an integral part of our common law, that the Sabbath is incorporated into the second article of the Constitution, that God is the recognized sovereign over all, that the Bible is His word, that the government is his agent for the promotion of morality, religion, brotherhood, and the public welfare, that these civic ideals for which our Church has always stood, and these institutions, pillars of support for our civilization, shall stand; and the gates of bolshevism, the I. W. W. anarchy, and the lawlessness that circumvents the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and brazenly threatens the Eighteenth Amendment, shall not prevail against us.

CLARENCE TRUE WILSON.

THE ONE QUESTION

IF a beautiful Christian spirit and a sincere desire for the union of churches could commend the recent proposals of the Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops, nothing would be lacking to bring about that union to-morrow. Compared with the famous statement of the Conference of 1888, there is seen also a gracious advance in the full recognition of the Christian (not ecclesiastical) standing of non-episcopal churches. It becomes those, therefore, who would meet this advance to do so in a spirit not less Christian. But truth is Christian no less than grace, and a union of churches that is not also a union of these two will hardly meet the mind of Him in whom they were fused in living fire. A word, then, as to the new Encyclical.

It will be seen that when the bishops get down to their actual conditions, they have moved in no essential from 1888. These are still four and still the same.

(1) The Holy Scriptures as the "rule of and ultimate standard of faith." This is the historic Protestant position as over against the church, or pope, or tradition, as standard, and would be accepted by all churches except the Greek, Roman, and those "liberals" for whom Professor Burton speaks in his article in the July American Journal of Theology.

(2) The creed "commonly called Nicene as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the baptismal confession of belief." Everybody knows that the creed "commonly called Nicene" (See Prayer Book under "Morning Prayer") is not only not the real Nicene Creed, but presents additions which debar it from the Greek Church and present needless stumbling blocks even to many Protestant Christians. It would have been better to say simply the Nicene Creed, or, better still, to have omitted all reference to that and to have held aloft the Apostles' Creed alone, and thus gotten back nearer to apostolic simplicities. But even as to this creed being "the baptismal confession of

belief" in the united church, are there not extreme difficulties? Will not Scripture as the rule of faith be apt in time to shove aside the later statement for such confessions as Matt. 16. 16 and John 3. 16?

(3) The "divinely instituted sacraments of baptism and holy communion." There will be little fault with this, though it excludes the Friends, as well as the liberals, who say that Christ never instituted any sacraments.

(4) Here is the crux, exactly as in 1888. The bishops say: "A ministry acknowledged by every part of the church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body." They do not say "historic episcopate," as in 1888, but they mean historic episcopate in their sense, that is, a ministry ordained by bishops of a higher order and authority than presbyters or elders. For, that is the only ministry that would have the "authority of the whole body," and—in the minds of most of the bishops—the "commission of Christ"; and they immediately ask, if the "episcopate is not the one means of providing such a ministry?" They indeed add that they "do not call in question the spiritual reality of the ministries of those communions [they still do not call them churches, though they do consider all believers as "sharing with us membership in the universal church of Christ, which is His Body"] which do not possess the episcopate"; but that is saying very little, no more than they could say of the ministries of Salvation Army and Friends. The ecclesiastical reality of non-episcopal clergy, their validity as ministers of Christ's church, the bishops by implication deny. At the bottom, therefore, there is no advance; we are exactly where we were in 1888. It is still a union not of churches but of *the* church with Christian "communions" or societies. We have nothing to give but our Christianity, they have that and their church, that is, their episcopate. There is but one question, *Shall Protestant clergy be reordained in order that their "communions" may combine loosely or closely with the Anglican Church to make a reunited Christendom?*

In answering this question the following considerations are pertinent:

(1) It would not be a reunited Christendom. The Roman Catholic Church, the Greek, Russian, and Balkan Churches, the churches of the east—all reject Anglican ordination as invalid. We would be no nearer union with these historic churches of half the world than we are now. Not until the Roman archbishops of Westminster and the Greek archbishops, say of Athens, lay their hands on Protestant Episcopal ministers have the latter anything to confer that will stand ecumenical consent. That day will come on the Greek calends.

(2) If Scripture is still a rule of faith why substitute for a ministry at least partly scriptural one entirely unscriptural? No one denies that there were elders (presbyters) in the New Testament, that these elders were overseers (bishops), and that bishops as a third order do not appear there. If we take the word historic ("historic episcopate") as referring to that part of history on which the light of Christ and apostles played, the Protestant churches therefore have the true episcopate, and I think no impartial scholar denies this. Why then practically abandon a min-

belief" in the united church, are there not extreme difficulties? Will not Scripture as the rule of faith be apt in time to shove aside the later statement for such confessions as Matt. 16. 16 and John 3. 16?

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istry with original credentials from apostles for one that came later? There would be much more reverence for Scripture in Drs. Clifford and Jowett laying hands on Anglicans than the latter laying hands on them.

(3) The new scheme lays a fictitious value on "ordination." The idea back of the Anglican demand is partly heathen, partly Jewish, but altogether unscriptural. That only those can administer the Supper who are ordained in our sense at all, let alone ordained by bishops as a third order, is not only unscriptural, but is opposed to the whole spirit and situation of apostolic times.

(4) The call for reordination for church union is an essential part of a so-called Catholic development which believers in Christianity as Christ and apostles taught it can view only with detestation. It was part and parcel of a deterioration which began in the second century and kept on till it issued in the Roman Catholic Church. The papacy itself was as truly a part of it as the episcopate as a third order. Of course the papacy came later, but what is more or less late when once you accept the principle? Papacy is logically and historically bound up with confirmation as a rite, with ordination by third-order bishops, baptismal regeneration, Supper as literal sacrifice and as actual body of Christ, the "creed commonly called Nicene" and others as tests, and other elements in the Catholic evolution.

(5) Protestant churches, it seems to me, have a duty to their past, to their founders and martyrs and heroes, to those principles of spirit and freedom and truth which have been the "master light of all their seeing," as well as to Christ and apostles, which should lead them to hesitate before accepting a scheme of union which in 1920 as in 1888 strikes their self-respect in the face and is virtual betrayal of their noblest testimony. Therefore to the bishops I would say: Gentlemen, talk to us of union when you acknowledge as your fathers did our ecclesiastical, as you do our Christian, standing. Till that good day arrives we say to you, in the sense of an eminent Methodist, that we shall gladly cooperate with you, if you will allow us, in all humanitarian and Christian work; but when as an indispensable condition of union with you we are asked to accept your kind of episcopacy, "we look back to our fathers and we look forward for our children, and say with Wesley that we intend to stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strongly set us free" (Sir Robert Perks in British Weekly, Aug. 19, p. 395). It is also worth noting that this same Lambeth Conference of 1920 knew well how to guard their own Catholic inheritance, whether we know how to guard our Scriptural one or not, as they turned down every overture or approach by bodies not fully episcopal in their sense, as the Moravians, Reformed Episcopal, etc.

Whether in the face of these five points the organic union of churches is worth the candle I cannot go into now. Except in the Middle Ages in western Europe, and to a less degree somewhat earlier, that union never existed, and the memories of those times are not specially reassuring. But that brings up the whole question of union.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

Madison, N. J.

BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE PAPYRI AND THE PREACHER

Nothing is more marked in the pulpit of the present day than the absence of the expository type of preaching. It is a fact which is greatly to be deplored, and its detrimental effects on the life of the church are of a far-reaching character. The absence of the Bible from the pew in the average Methodist Episcopal church is an indication of this; how seldom does one see at a religious service anyone following the lesson in the Bible or consulting the Bible when the text is announced. The imperious claims of the war have served to entrench the topical type of sermon in a stronger position than ever before. One of the causes of this decline in expository preaching is the failure to make a minute and careful study of the Greek New Testament and such a failure in the present day is to be regretted when we think of the invaluable aids that have been brought within our reach in the last few years in the form of critical commentaries, modern translations and paraphrases, lexical studies of various kinds, and the exhaustive grammars of New Testament Greek by Doctors Moulton and Robertson.

Among the aids that have come to us to shed light on the vocabulary of the New Testament none are more interesting and helpful than the collections of papyri letters which have been unearthed in Egypt during the last thirty years. They are called "papyri" because the material on which they were written was prepared from the pith of the papyrus plant which grew profusely in the marshes of the Nile delta. Bishop Lightfoot in the year 1863 said that if we could recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the New Testament. Thanks to the labors of the Egyptian Exploration Society and to the wonderful preservative qualities of the climate and sandy soil of Egypt several hundreds of these letters that Lightfoot longed for have been discovered. Some of these letters were found in the rubbish mounds where the people dumped their wastepaper, some in the ruins of temples and houses, while several were used as wrappings inside mummified crocodiles. Doctors Grenfell and Hunt, who have done such pioneer work in the discovery of papyri, tell the story of how some workmen, weary with much fruitless digging, came to a cemetery of mummified crocodiles. One of the men thinking that such a place was unlikely to yield any "finds," in disgust struck the head of one of the crocodiles and so revealed in the wrapping within enough material to fill nearly two volumes of the "Oxyrynchus Papyri." The blow was a lucky one for only two per cent of the crocodiles were found to contain papyri.

The following are some samples of papyrus letters. The first, written by a boy to his father, is taken from one of the volumes of "Oxyrynchus Papyri," edited by Doctors Grenfell and Hunt.

> "Aurelius Dius to Aurelius Horion. My sweetest Father, many greetings. I perform the act of veneration for you every

day before the gods of this place. Do not be anxious, father, about my studies. I am industrious and take relaxation. I salute my mother (and here follow the rest of the family who are mentioned by name)."

The verb translated "taking relaxation" (ἀναψύχω) in this letter is the same verb as Paul uses in 2 Tim. 1. 16 when he says of Onesiphorus "he hath oft refreshed me," while we have the noun formed from this verb in the well-known phrase "showers of refreshing" in Acts 3. 19.

Here is another boy's letter, taken from Leitzmann's small collection of Greek Papyri (written in the first century):

> Serenus to Apolinarion, his father. Hearty greetings. I perform my act of worship on thy behalf before all the gods. I received from Ptoleminus 63 apples and from his wife Serenias another 11 apples, and I want you to know that all have disappeared and I have not found any to give to those you wrote about to me. But I have bought in order that I may have something to give to them. And I want you to know that I go daily to Serapias, the seller of barley beer, but she does not give to me. She says daily, "to-morrow you shall get it," but she never gives it. When Eisidor has his hair cut what do you wish me to bring for him?[1] Eirenas has not yet given me the seven staters. . . . I pray that you are well.

The letter is addressed, "Deliver to Apolinarion, a soldier, from his son Serenus."

An interesting glimpse into the lighter life of the town of Fayum is given us in the following letter, written in 237 A. D. and translated by Professor George Milligan in his excellent "Selections of Greek Papyri," issued by the Cambridge University Press.

> To Aurelius Theon, provider of flute girls, from Aurelius Asclas Philadelphus, president of the village council of Bacchios. I wish to hire T. Sais, the dancing girl, along with one other to perform for us in the aforesaid village for ten days, from the 13th of the month of Phaophi (old style), they receiving by way of hire 36 drachmas daily, by way of payment for the whole period three artabas of wheat and fifteen couples of delicacies and for their conveyance down and back again three asses. And of this they have received . . . drachmas by way of earnest money, to be reckoned by you in the price.

The word in the letter translated "earnest money" is ἀρραβών, showing that the vernacular usage amply confirms the New Testament sense of an "earnest" or a part given in advance of what will be bestowed fully afterward. Cf. 2 Cor. 1. 22; 5. 5; Eph. 1. 14. The word is still in use in modern Greek in the sense of deposit, while the modern Greek word for engagement ring is ἀραβών. Doctor Moffat translates the word in Eph. 1. 14 by the phrase "a pledge and an installment."

How interesting it is to read among the papyri this order to return

[1] A boy's first haircut was treated as a festive occasion and all the members of the family brought gifts.

home for the Census, issued by a Prefect of Egypt (dated A. D. 104), also found in Milligan's Selections.

> Gaius Maximus, Prefect of Egypt (says): Seeing that the time has come for the house to house census, it is necessary to compel all those who for any cause whatsoever are residing out of their district to return to their own homes that they may both carry out the regular order of the census and may also attend diligently to the cultivation of their allotments.

What an interesting analogy this document presents to Luke 2. 1-4 and how it confirms the fact that Herod, when he issued his command, was acting under Roman orders (cf. Ramsay—Luke the Physician, p. 244). Here is a copy of a Census Return, dated A. D. 48.

> To Dorian Strategus . . . from Thermoutharian, the daughter of Thoonis. There are living in the house which belongs to me in the South Lane . . .
>
> Thermoutharian, a freedwoman, about 65 years of age, of medium height, dark complexion, long visaged, a scar on the right knee.
>
> I, the above-mentioned Thermoutharian, along with my guardian the said Apollonius, swear by Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Emperor that assuredly the preceding document makes a sound and true return of those living with me and that there is no one else living with me, neither a stranger nor an Alexandrian citizen nor a freedman nor a Roman citizen nor an Egyptian in addition to the aforesaid.

These are just a small selection of types of letters that are found in the papyri, the infinite variety of which is seen from these headings, taken from the index of one of Grenfell and Hunt's volumes, "Imperial Rescripts," "Report of a Trial," "Account of Village Taxes," "Applications Concerning a Loan," "Questions to an Oracle," "Letter of a Soldier to His Mother," "Letter of Sattos to His Sister," "Tax-receipt," "Notice of Death," "Petition Concerning Assault," "Horoscope," "Order to a Poultry Dealer," "Order for Tasting Wine," "Invitation to Dinner." The value of such letters and documents for the preacher is very great. They serve, in the first place, to throw light on the conditions under which the humble and lowly of the time lived. As a rule, the literary works of the early Christian centuries serve to reveal to us the life lived in the higher circles of wealth and culture, while many of the papyri consist of the "short and simple annals of the poor." They light up for us the cottage home, the small farmstead, the village store. We see in them at first hand the joys and sorrows, the problems and trials, the struggles and hardships, of that class of society from which the early church recruited most of its members, described by Paul as "the foolish in the world," the "mean and despised," "nonentities." For the student of the social history of the first three centuries A. D., especially, they are invaluable because they afford such a mass of contemporary evidence. What a flood of light the following letter, written in B. C. 1 to his wife by a workman who is away from home, sheds on the attitude of society toward girl babies.

> Hilarius to Alis . . . heartiest greetings. Know that we are still even now in Alexandria. Do not worry if when all the others return I remain in Alexandria. I beg and beseech of you to take care of the little child, and as soon as we receive wages I will send them to you. If—good luck to you!—you bear a child, if it is a boy, let it live; but if it is a girl, expose it. I beg you therefore not to worry.

They are equally valuable for the light they shed on the religious customs of the times. Most of the private letters contain some reference to the gods, cf. the following. "I thank my lord Serapis that when I was in danger at sea, he saved me," "I give thanks to the gods continually," "Appolonius requests you to dine at the table of the lord Serapis on the approaching coming of age of his brother at the temple of Thoeris." This invitation shows how difficult it was for the early Christians not to be implicated in the idolatrous practices of the time. The temples of these heathen gods played an important part in the life of these people. In times of persecution of the Christians they issued certificates to those who had sacrificed in heathen manner, copies of which had to be shown to the Imperial authorities when demanded. Such certificates have been found among the papyri. The temples, too, afforded sanctuary to runaway slaves, while the authorities often acted as intermediaries to purchase the freedom of slaves. Many declarations like the following are found in the papyri, "Apollo, the Pythian, bought for Sosibius of Amphissa for freedom a female slave whose name is Nicæa for the price of three minæ of silver and half a mina." The prevalence of the practice of consulting the local oracle is seen in the following that has come down to us. "To Sokanobkoneus the great, great god. Answer! Shall I remain in Bacchios? Shall I meet him? Answer me this." The widespread cult of emperor-worship is forced upon our notice on every hand. We can realize more clearly some of the difficulties of the apostles when we read the following description of certain of the emperors. Julius Cæsar is styled "god made manifest," "The common saviour of human life." Augustus is the "god of gods." Nero is the "good god!" Another emperor is the son of a god. A pathetic letter found among the "Oxyrynchus Papyri" shows how these heathen religions failed to bring any true comfort in time of great sorrow and bereavement. The letter is written by a certain Irene to her friend Taonophris and her husband, Philon, who have apparently just lost a son.

> Irene to Taonophris and Philon, good cheer! I was as much grieved and wept over the blessed one, as I wept for Didymos, and everything that was fitting I did and all who were with me. . . . But truly there is nothing anyone can do in the face of such things. Do you therefore comfort one another. Farewell.

The greatest value of the papyri for the preacher lies in the help they give in the interpretation of the language of the New Testament. Comparison of the language of these artless letters with that of the writings of the New Testament reveals a striking correspondence. Both are written in the

colloquial "lingua franca" of the day. The conquests of Alexander the Great were followed by the widespread use of the Greek tongue. It became the everyday language of Rome in the West, Ephesus and Antioch in the East, and of large tracts in Egypt. This almost universal use of Greek led to certain changes and modifications in the vocabulary and structure. Francis Thompson in his essay on Shelley points out how essential and beneficial it is for a poet to go outside the aristocratic circle of language and keep in touch with the great commonalty, the proletariat of speech. For it is with words as with men: constant intermarriage within the limits of a patrician clan begets effete refinement and to reinvigorate the stock, its veins must be replenished from lowly plebeian stock.

That describes fairly accurately the change that had come over the Greek of classical time. "Koine" Greek, as the Greek of the New Testament and that of the papyri is called, was the speech of the common people, applied of course by the writers of the New Testament to literary uses. Doctor James Moulton in his valuable introduction to part II of his grammar of the New Testament says, "For the purpose the apostles and evangelists had in view the greater simplicity of the Hellenistic gives it a decided advantage over even classical Greek. If much of the old grace was gone, the strength and suppleness, the lucidity and expressiveness of that matchless tongue were there in undimmed perfection." The opponents of the early Christians used to taunt them by saying that their sacred book was written in the language of the boatman. What they thought to be a reproach was in effect a compliment of a high character. Can we detect some words in the New Testament that were the peculiar phrases of the boatmen? Were ἄφεσις and καταρτίζω such words? For just as Jesus called humble boatmen to be apostles of spiritual truth, so the writers of the New Testament pressed into their service words used in the home, the mart, and seashore, and called them to the important work of conveying spiritual messages. ἄφεσις is the regular word in the New Testament for forgiveness of sins. According to Liddell and Scott it was used of untying the boat fastened to a post by the shore in order to launch it into the deep. God in the act of forgiveness releases man from all that fetters and holds him in bondage with a view of sending him forth to his service. In the papyri ἄφεσις is the technical expression for the release of water from the sluices of canals for purposes of irrigation. We see the word approaching Paul's use of it for forgiveness by the occurrence of the word in inscriptions for remission from a debt or punishment. The other word, καταρτίζω is used in St. Mark for mending or repairing nets. In Polybius, a writer of literary "koine," it is used in the sense of refitting or furnishing a ship anew. Clement of Alexander used καταρτιον for a "mast." This boatman's word is elevated to very high uses in the New Testament. It is used in 1 Cor. 1. 10 in the sense of "repairing" a church rent and torn by factions and schisms. By this use of the word Paul seems to compare the Corinthian Church to a torn net, unfitted by its lamentable divisions for the work of winning souls. In Gal. 6. 1 Paul urges the men who are spiritual to set about "mending" the man whose life is broken by a serious fall and in 1 Thess. 3. 10 the word is used of restoring a faith

with many holes or defects in it. While in the positive sense of furnishing, we find it in that saying in the gospels, "A scholar when he is perfectly *furnished* will be like his master," and in that beautiful doxology in Heb. 13. 21, "May the God of peace *furnish* you with everything for the doing of his will." Furthermore the papyri, in addition to showing the colloquial character of the Greek of the New Testament, are invaluable for the light they give on individual words. What a new meaning the word ὑποστάσις has in Heb. 11. 1 translated in the Authorized Version "substance," and in the Revised Version "assurance," in the margin, "the giving substance to," when we find it in the legal documents of the papyri in the sense of "title-deeds."

Deissman, in his fascinating book, "Light from the Ancient East," tells us that the word πήρα, translated "wallet" in Matthew and usually taken to mean a bag to carry food or clothes, is found on an inscription in which a temple priest boasts that he has succeeded in bringing seventy πήραι (wallets) for the temple-priestess showing that the word meant a "beggar's collecting bag." While our Lord laid down the rule that the workman was worthy of his pay, he warned his first disciples against the spirit of subserviency. They were to cultivate a manly independence even though it might be at the cost of some privations and hardships.

The word πληρόω is found in the papyri with the meaning of "paying one in full." It is this knowledge that enables Doctor Moffat to translate Phil. 4. 18: "Your debt to me is fully paid and more than paid." How much clearer and more expressive this is than the ambiguous Authorized Version, "I am full," or the Revised Version, "I am filled."

What we have said, we trust, will serve to show that this field of study yields splendid returns for the understanding of God's word. Paul's great counsel to Timothy, "Give diligence to present thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth," can never be fulfilled by us unless we, to the best of our powers, avail ourselves of all the aids of modern discovery and scholarship to bring things new and old from the unsearchable riches of God's Holy Word.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS

One of the inevitable consequences of the war has been to compel a thorough reexamination of the idea of progress. It is not many years since a species of optimism prevailed, whose ghost now mocks us bitterly. There remains, of course, a great and sure hope for all who have found the ground wherein their anchor holds immovable; but the optimism of the Zeitgeist has been put to sleep for a season.

We desire to call attention to three notable discussions of the idea of progress, and to a multitude of echoes in the various reviews. First of

all may be mentioned Dean Inge's lecture on The Idea of Progress (Clarendon Press, 920). It is a remarkably luminous discussion. The reader only regrets its brevity; for Dr. Inge is perhaps the most interesting and thought-provoking controversialist among the Anglican clergy of the present day. The second book in our list is Professor Bury's The Idea of Progress (Macmillans, 1920). This is a book of ample size, but its scope is historical rather than constructive. The history, however, is such as to compel speculation on the part of the reader. The materials which Professor Bury sets before us are interesting in a very high degree. These two books have awakened no little interest, but the third has proved a real sensation in the thinking world. It is the work of a hitherto unknown German thinker, Oswald Spengler, and it bears the title, Der Untergang des Abendlandes (The Decline and Fall of the Occident). The thought of the book naturally took its final shape under the influence of the war, but it is not primarily an outgrowth of the war. The work was well under way before the outbreak of the war, and the author's standpoint was even then already fixed. Spengler's book has become, as we have intimated, something of a sensation; it must not, however, be inferred that it is a superficial work or one written in a sensational style. Its seriousness and weight may be inferred from the elaborate reviews it has called forth; the philosophical review Logos, for example, devotes one entire issue to the discussion of the problem of the book.

The interested reader who cares to pursue the subject would do well to begin with Inge's pamphlet. It affords the clearest possible statement of the problem, together with very incisive criticism and helpful constructive thinking. A wealth of material is compressed within the limits of a single lecture, but this is so skillfully done that it makes delightful reading. Dean Inge, of course, presents a positive, Christian interpretation of history. Professor Bury writes with admirable frankness, but with a tinge of unwilling pessimism. He is unable to recognize any certain sign of a prevailing Divine Providence in the course of the world's history. He dedicates his book to the memory of certain "optimists mentioned in this volume"—Saint-Pierre, Condorcet, Comte, Spencer, and others; but this he does as one who admires and envies an optimism which he is unable to share.

The charm of Bury's book centers in the abundant direct citations of passages from the great thinkers upon the problem of progress. The great theorists upon the idea of progress have been more numerous in France than in any other country. Some have been optimists or perfectibilists; others have been more or less pronounced pessimists. But a survey of the views of such men as Saint-Pierre, Condorcet, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Turgot, Voltaire, the Encyclopædists, Comte, and other French thinkers is wonderfully interesting and impressive. Then there is the doctrine of progress in England. There is far less of interest here than in the history of the idea in France; still, the theories of such men as Hume, Adam Smith, Malthus, Bentham, Mill, and Spencer are highly interesting and significant. In Germany the interest centers largely in the philosophies of Kant and Hegel. A passage from Goethe's Conversa-

tions with Eckermann has been often quoted; it is cited by both Bury and Inge.

"The world will not reach its goal so quickly as we think or wish. The retarding demons are always there, intervening and resisting at every point, so that, though there is an advance on the whole, it is very slow. Live longer and you will find that I am right."

"The development of humanity," said Eckermann, "appears to be a matter of thousands of years."

"Who knows?" Goethe replied; "perhaps of millions. But let humanity last as long as it will, there will always be hindrances in the way, and all kinds of distress to make it develop its powers. Men will become more clever and discerning, but not better nor happier nor more energetic, at least except for limited periods. I see the time coming when God will take no more pleasure in the race, and must again proceed to a rejuvenated creation. I am sure that this will happen and that the time and hour in the distant future are already fixed for the beginning of this epoch of rejuvenation. But that time is certainly a long way off, and we can still for thousands and thousands of years enjoy ourselves on this dear old playing-ground, just as it is."

Of particular interest is the treatment accorded the evolutionistic doctrine of progress by both Inge and Bury. Inge's criticism of Spencer's evolutionary perfectibilism is brilliant and crushing. Some earlier advocates of the perfectibility of the race had based the doctrine on the essential reasonableness of human nature: man would surely learn wisdom in the process of the years. Others based the doctrine on the belief in an all-sufficient creative wisdom and providence. But Spencer based his theory on natural evolution. "Progress," he says, "is not an accident but a necessity. What we call evil and immorality must disappear. It is certain that man must become perfect." "The ultimate development of the ideal man is certain—as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance, that all men will die." "Always toward perfection is the mighty movement—toward a complete development and a more unmixed good."

Of course this astonishing optimism based on an interpretation of the principle of evolution met with convincing opposition even before Dr. Inge had reached an age in which a man might grapple with such problems. But Dr. Inge's brief discussion is delightfully clear in pointing out that such optimism is not implicit in Darwinism, it is simply lugged in. Indeed, it is inconsistent with some of the most obvious data of biological science. Huxley himself, an ardent Darwinian, very sensibly declared: "The theory of evolution encourages no millennial anticipations." He declared: "I know no study which is so saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as it is set forth in the annals of history." With great penetration he points out that "social progress means the checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another which may be called the ethical process." But this is part and parcel of the Christian view of man and nature! Man is called to overcome the world, to spiritualize it, to ethicize nature.

Dr. Inge is no less impressive in showing the shallow fallacy in identifying material progress with absolute progress. But we must break off, in order to devote a few moments to Spengler.

That Spengler has been influenced by Schopenhauer, Hartmann, and Nietzsche is manifest. But there is considerable originality in his thinking. He opposes many features of Darwinism; his criticism of modern evolutionism is decidedly vigorous. He makes large use of the principles of biological science, but he does not make biology everything. The idealistic element must be recognized, too. Man moves upward not so much in response to physical environment as in obedience to an idealistic desire for freedom and mastery. Men become civilized not because they must be, but because they will be. And each nation struggles upward into such measure of civilization as it can master. Moreover, the movement is not a movement of the race in any solidarity, it is the movement of one nation or group of nations. Spengler's view of the history of civilization is decidedly pluralistic. But now we come to the main point in his scheme. Civilization being social organization for mastery over nature, and its goal being reached when relatively adequate mastery has been attained, the plant has reached its maturity and a decline inevitably sets in. Thus does Spengler unite a pessimistic idealism with modern biological theory. Mankind continues to exist, struggling upward and lapsing; but a civilization is to be regarded as one specimen, one morphological specimen, of the race's existence. The race exists in social groups; each group seeks to realize its ideals; each flourishes or perchance is prematurely cut down; but those civilizations that reach a relatively full development are destined to decline and fall. Western civilization is no exception; its decline has already set in, and the complete collapse must come in a few centuries.

It must be recognized that there is no wanton trifling in these speculations. Such pessimism is natural enough to those who do not believe in the living God and in the unconquerable power of the risen Christ. Our assurance in the perpetuity of the supreme Christian values in society is not contingent upon the perpetuity of the forms of modern civilization. Christian civilization, the true inward life of Christian society, can stand any shock without bankruptcy. The city of God is ever building; it survived the cataclysm of the ancient Roman civilization, and it can endure the like again. Not that we look for the fulfillment of Spengler's prophecy of evil—far from it; but we should make clear to ourselves what are the foundations that can never be removed. Whether the race as a whole is really progressing toward perfection is not for us to judge. Enough for us to know that God is working out his purpose and that his kingdom must ultimately prevail.

IS GERMANY REPENTANT?

The question is very interesting and—so far as it is clearly conceived and fairly put—very important. The whole human race is vitally concerned

in the spirit and attitude of each nation that forms a part of it. But it behooves those who put the question and those who answer it to be perfectly clear as to the content of the terms. When we speak of Germany's guilt in relation to the war, just what does the term "Germany" mean for us? Do we mean all the people individually as well as collectively? Or do we mean only the governing power of the nation? Or are we, perhaps, thinking primarily of the guilt of the government and including the rest of the nation in the condemnation, only with many gradations of blame? And when we speak of Germany's possible repentance, do we mean to ask whether the guilty leaders have personally repented? Or are we asking whether the nation as a whole, especially as represented by her political leaders, has repudiated its former dreams of conquest? Is it repentance in the ethico-religious sense that we are demanding, or shall we be content, for the present at least, with a political change of heart? Or again, shall we be tolerably satisfied if Germany shall acknowledge that she is very guilty, without going so far as to acknowledge that she alone is guilty?

However we may judge of these matters, it is vain to hope that all German people will be found in agreement in their views and attitudes. The views that have been expressed are very divergent. Whether the utterances that reveal a deep ethical and Christian interest are as numerous as we should have expected, we are unable to say. At all events there have reached us not a few declarations from German Christians that must strike a responsive chord in Christians the world over.

Perhaps the most illuminating discussion of the present Christian problem in Germany, accessible to readers of English and written by a German Christian, is Dr. Martin Rade's article in The American Journal of Theology, July, 1920. In this article Dr. Rade very frankly acknowledges that Germany had a considerable share in the provocation of the war, but he denies that Germany wanted war. However mistaken Rade may be, no one can doubt that he has expressed his real conviction. But he disappointed many of us in declaring roundly that Germany shows no signs of penitence of the sort expected by her former enemies. A certain heart-searching, he holds, is manifest in wide circles there, but no disposition to humble themselves before the other nations as the guilty before the innocent and wronged party. The continuance of the hunger blockade after the armistice and the terms of the Versailles Treaty have cured Germany of any disposition toward a penitent attitude toward other nations. But it should still be noted that Rade makes a considerable acknowledgment of Germany's guilt—of her large *share* in the guilt of the war.

This declaration of Rade's was the more disappointing in view of the earlier discussion of the question of guilt in Rade's paper Die Christliche Welt. The discussion centered largely about an article by the eminent Professor F. W. Foerster. The article of Foerster's, which has often been referred to in the British and American press, was most frank and emphatic in its acknowledgment of Germany's guilt. But even Foerster never intimated that Germany alone was guilty; he simply set forth his conviction that Germany was guilty above all other nations. Naturally his article provoked a considerable discussion. The remarkable thing about

it all was the fact that most of the writers were in essential agreement with Foerster. Almost unanimously it was agreed that the growth of the militaristic spirit in Germany, especially since the Franco-Prussian war, had proved a fearfully corrupting force in the German nation and had been essentially a provocation of war.

It would be easy to show that there is a vast deal of preaching of repentance in Germany to-day, but it would be almost hopeless to look for a German who would find Germany the sole criminal among the nations. Even apart from every question of the guilt of other nations, it is psychologically impossible for the German people to exhibit a sense of guilt beyond that which they actually feel. And the majority of Germans, as individuals, are conscious that they personally did not want war.

We should like to commend (to those who care to pursue the inquiry into what German Christians are thinking) a pamphlet by Theodor Kaftan entitled "Was Nun?" (What now?). The discussion falls into three parts:

(1) The great blow; (2) How did it come about? (3) What now? This last part falls into three subdivisions: (a) In the Community of Christians; (b) In the German Empire; (c) In the World of Nations. The first part is a brief but very vivid picture of the catastrophe of the German defeat. The second is an astonishingly frank criticism of the weaknesses and follies of the German (especially Prussian) militaristic policy. Of far more interest, however, is the climax of this part of his discussion, when, after intimating the insufficiency of every natural explanation of "the great blow," he declares: All other considerations "are merged in one thought: *God did it!*"

"And why did God do it? Because it is eternally true that is written: *God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.* In this its fearful defeat the German people is reaping what it has sown.

"Scarcely, however, is this thought grasped in inward humiliation, till the other question springs up: 'And the others? Those to whom God has given the victory, were they better than we, before God better?'

"Who says that? Also for them the word of God holds true: 'Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Their hour too will strike. . . .'

"But let us leave the others. What concern have we with them, when we have to give an account of ourselves to God? Yes, our account of ourselves to God—that is what concerns us."

We cannot go into the details of Kaftan's unsparing rebuke of the many sins of the German people. We must not, however, omit to mention that Kaftan is particularly strong and clear in his exhibition of the essential idolatry of the thought of "the German God," a God of whom one requires that he should "make five an even number." Nor can we omit reference to his discussion of the German longing for "a German peace." "Thank God," writes Kaftan, "that this did not come to pass. Our people were absolutely not ripe to bear it. A German peace and—we should have been lost religiously and morally, and that means lost altogether."

The very interesting third part (which is much more than half the little book) we pass by for the present, because it does not bear upon the theme of a possible German repentance. What has been reported has been brought forward as shedding light upon the problem of the future of Christianity in Germany. If the spirit of repentance as Kaftan, and not a few others are preaching it, shall but prevail over the spirit of stolid defiance and self-justification which manifests itself in some quarters in Germany, that nation will yet be walking in the light of God and enjoying his richest blessings.

BOOK NOTICES

God and the Struggle for Existence. Edited by CANON B. H. STREETER. 12mo, pp. 203. New York: Association Press. Price, $1.50 net.

A DIFFICULT task is successfully undertaken in this volume of essays. The purpose is to demonstrate that the Power behind all phenomena is personal, and wise and loving in character, and that it is the obligation of Christians to work for the betterment of the world instead of trying to escape from it as though it had fallen into the hands of the enemy from whom there is no prospect of deliverance. The problem of evil, like the problem of the poor, is always with us, and at the present time it has become complicated by the dire experiences and consequences of the war. The collapse of civilization came because Christians lived by the ethics of competition, in disregard of the higher ethics of co-operation according to Christ. The underlying conviction of these three essayists is that "Christianity moves forward whenever it goes back to Christ."

Archbishop Charles F. D'Arcy of Dublin is one of the keenest of Christian philosophers. His essay on "Love and Omnipotence" is a strong argument in support of the contention that a beneficent Intelligence, which is a trustworthy Power, is in control of the Universe. Herbert Spencer's dictum that "the Power which the Universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable" is both dogmatic and contradictory. If the Power is manifested it cannot be inscrutable. The presence of suffering is inevitable, but in the light of the Cross it ceases to be a difficulty and becomes a manifestation of divine love. Sacrifice, furthermore, is worth while because God prizes goodness above beauty, and no price is too heavy to secure it in the Universe which is a cosmos and not a chaos, regulated as it is by the wisdom of love and not by capricious forces. Science and religion both indorse this conclusion. Disorder is due to the discordant wills of men. The evil can however be overcome not by the appeal to reason, interest, family ties, or friendship, but to love, which conquers like force, but unlike force does not destroy but fulfills. The Christian conception of God regards the Universe as a spiritual order, in which the end is not wholly determined from the beginning, since a creative will is engaged in the great adventure for the final unification in the all-inclusive life of the Eternal. When we speak of Omnipotence we mean that God's nature is such that things cannot go finally wrong. In this faith all opposing wills are sub-

jugated by the power of Supreme Love and the end is justified by the noble and ennobling means.

There is a dark side of progress and a bright side. The biological development has not been without the interruptions of class and race selfishness, but viewed as a whole the process has been making for closer correspondence with environment. There are numerous evidences which point to the evolution of the human race. Among them are greater physical and mental fitness, the increasing sway of reason instead of force, larger freedom from suppression, the appearance of the socialized conscience, a keener readiness to be guided by the principle of "hazardous adventure for racial ends." All this is in harmony with the crusading spirit of the Christianity of Christ. These questions are thoroughly ventilated by Miss Dougall in her essay on "The Survival of the Fittest." She takes high ground and reaches the conclusion that the program of the Kingdom of God contemplates the ills of the present with no thought of cowardly surrender but with the determination of faith that the Christian Society shall not fail from off the earth.

The essay on "Power—Human and Divine" by this same writer is a study of the real dynamic of religion. The idea of a vindictive God whose will is fantastic is essentially pagan. Such a God is incapable of moral indignation and spiritual re-creation. His wrath exceeds his mercy and forgiveness is foreign to his character. Not so with the Christian God who is not "in a condition of almost incessant anger and constantly engaged in launching thunderbolts, (but) has surrounded his developing creation from first to last with a spiritual atmosphere of gracious friendliness and free forgiveness." Such a view of God stresses the dynamic aspect of life. Where nothing is static provision can be made for the progressive interpretation of the divine revelation which has always been consistently progressive. The consciousness of God's Presence does not, however, guarantee immunity from travail, but gives us the assurance that nothing could ultimately prevail against the cause for which we work in the name of the God of goodness.

The previous discussions are brought to a focus by Canon Streeter in his essay on "The Defeat of Pain." His interest is not in the origin of pain but in the fact of it as part of our daily environment. There is suffering that degrades and desolates; but there is also creative suffering, like that of Christ, borne for the sake of ideals and causes. He questions the view that calamity is the will of God to which we should submit. The Christian attitude to mishaps is not one of submission but of acceptance. We thus conquer the disasters of evil and pain by heroic bearing of them, and are sustained therein by the practice of prayer and the long view of life which looks beyond the immediate present. "Direction, inspiration, strength can all be had from one source. Only let the needle of life's compass be magnetized and free to move, so that it points always toward the Pole. Steer boldly straight ahead, 'looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross'—courage victorious and love triumphant. Let prayer and meditation center always round the thought of the Love and Power of that infinite

and all pervading Spirit of whom Christ is the portrait, and it will be possible to rise above the natural consequences of evil happenings, to make of suffering an opportunity, of loss a stepping-stone to gain, and to find in failure retrieved and pain conquered the secret of power."

This volume takes issue with many prevalent religious misconceptions. It is a candid examination of vital truths, free from the perfunctory style and the apologetic manner, and so helps toward a restatement of the Christian message.

Memories and Records. By Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher. In two volumes, with Portraits and Illustrations. 8vo. Vol. I. Memories, pp. xiii+278. Vol. II. Records, pp. xi+264. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $8 net.

These two volumes introduce us to an extremely unconventional man, whose very outspokenness and daring made him one of the most picturesque and influential figures in recent history. Lord Fisher had quite a varied career. The story of the lad who entered the British Navy, "penniless, friendless and forlorn," and became Admiral of the Fleet by the sheer force of character and ability, is one of the romances of modern times. "While my mess-mates were having jam, I had to go without. While their stomachs were full, mine was often empty. I have always had to fight like hell, and fighting like hell has made me what I am. Hunger and thirst are the way to Heaven!" This is a rough and ready way of putting the case. We quote it as expressing the singular frankness of one who did not wear his heart on his sleeve, but whose friendship was greatly prized by high and low, from King Edward VII to the obscure middy, such as he had once been.

Lord Fisher was once asked what was his idea of life. He replied that what made a life was "not its mature years, but the early portions when the seed was sown and the blossom so often blasted by the frost of unrecognition. It was then that the fruit of after years was pruned to something near the mark of success." Shrewd observations of this sort abound in these pages and by the side of them must be placed the frequent confessions of Christian Faith. For Lord Fisher was a man of earnest piety and he showed unusual generosity to his opponents who were many and bitter. "I can't be silent and I will not lie" were words that tersely expressed his attitude to duty and obligation. He was a diligent student of the Scriptures and there are frequent quotations from the Bible. A chapter on "The Bible and other Reflections" contains brief and pointed meditations, all the more attractive because they are not by a preacher or theologian who is supposed to say such things, but by a layman who writes from actual experience. He preferred the Great Bible of 1539 to the Authorized Version of 1611 and quotes passages in support of his preference. "Wait on the Lord" was rendered by the older version, "O tarry thou the Lord's leisure"; the words, "I will give you rest" by "I will refresh you"; which he contends is more correct because "there is no rest this side of heaven." As illustrating his apposite use of the Bible take this pas-

sage: "The miracle of the peace was only equalled by the destruction of Sennacherib's army. There was no Waterloo, no Sedan, no Trafalgar (though there could have been one on October 21st, 1918, for the German naval mutiny was known). There was no Napoleon—no Nelson! but 'The Angel of the Lord went forth.' . . ." These words recall the message of Cromwell, "To General Blake at Sea," after the defeat of the Spaniards at Santa Cruz in 1657. "The mercy therein to us and this Commonwealth is very signal; both in the loss the enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our own ships and men, which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord, wherewith His people hath been followed in all these late revolutions, and doth call, on our part, that we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy."

There are many pithy remarks on preachers and preaching. When there is a tendency to discount the play of the emotions it is well to remember one of Lord Fisher's sayings, "Brains never yet moved the masses—but emotion and earnestness will not only move the masses, but they will remove mountains." Another is on faith: "Faith governs all things. Victories on earth have as their foundation the same saving virtue of faith. One great exercise of faith is 'Redeeming the Time,' as Paul says. Most people from want of Faith won't try again. Lord Kelvin often used to tell me of his continuous desire of 'redeeming the time.' Even in dressing himself he sought every opportunity of saving time (so he told me) in thinking of the next operation However, his busy brain sometimes got away from the business in hand, as he once put his necktie in his pocket and his handkerchief round his neck." Here is a pointed sentiment on prayer: "The one and only proper prayer is to ask for fortitude or endurance. You have no right to pray for rain for turnips, when it will ruin somebody else's wheat. You have no right to ask the Almighty—in fact he can't do it—to make two and two into five. The only prayer to pray is for endurance, or fortitude. The most saintly man I know daily ended his prayers with the words of that beautiful hymn:

> 'Renew my will from day to day,
> Blend it with thine, and take away
> All that now makes it hard to say,
> Thy will be done.'"

Two of the men he admired most were Nelson and Lincoln. He quotes a remark made to him by Lord Rosebery that "one of the great reasons of Nelson being so in the hearts of his countrymen was the conviction that he had been slighted by Authority and even so after his death. . . . Nelson left on half-pay in War! It's unbelievable, but yet it so happened. It was envy: and he was no sycophant, so he couldn't be a courtier. It was so with him as with our great Exemplar: 'The Common People heard him gladly.' And what a send-off it was on Southsea beach at Portsmouth when he embarked for Trafalgar! What a scene it was, with these Common People surging round him—none else were there, and neither the King nor the Admiralty sent a dummy, as is customary, to represent them.

But isn't it always the way? General Booth and Doctor Barnardo weren't buried in Westminster Abbey; but they had a more glorious funeral—millions of the 'Common People' followed them to their graves, unmarshalled and unsolicited. Give me the Common People, and a fig for your State ceremonial!" There is an appreciative chapter on "Americans." The one entitled "Some Personalities" contains a beautiful tribute to Lincoln. "I have always worshipped Abraham Lincoln. I have elsewhere related how he never argued with judge or jury or anyone else, but always told a story, thus following that great and inestimable example in Holy Writ. 'And without a parable spake He not unto them.' But one wishes it were more known how great were his simple views." A chapter on "Things that Please Me" consists of quotations of pithy sayings, from which can be gathered his sane philosophy of life.

There are many sections which deal with naval matters including reports and correspondence. They are of interest even to the lay mind because they express Lord Fisher's extraordinary prescience in making prophetic forecasts of events in European history. Had they been heeded at the time the course of the recent grim years might have been different. In 1904 he predicted that Germany would make war in 1914 and gave his reasons. In 1912 he wrote: "Jellicoe will be admiral when Armageddon comes along." The part played by the British Fleet in winning the war is a matter of history and to Lord Fisher belongs no small credit, for the Fleet was largely his creation. There is much else in these volumes which touches on questions relating to public welfare. The strain of recklessness and the explosive style of speech were characteristic of this vehement soul, but his patriotism and efficiency were beyond reproach, and he will be classed in time to come with those irrepressible leaders, Paul, Luther, Knox, Cromwell, who helped to change the face of the world.

Spiritual Voices in Modern Literature. By TREVOR H. DAVIES, D.D. 8vo, pp. x+312. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.50 net.

THIS is not a volume of appreciation like Dr. John Kelman's Among Famous Books, but a volume of lecture-sermons on some of the great doctrines of the gospel. The plan of the author is first to expound a truth and then to illustrate it by books which touch the high-water mark of modern literature. We are not surprised that the poets are in the majority, for they have seized the inner meaning of life better than other writers. Dr. Davies has succeeded in bringing out the religious values of the books discussed and in giving a new setting to the central teachings of Christianity. He has done well in showing how the Bible has very profoundly influenced the best of our creative writings.

Viscount Morley defined literature as "All the books—and they are not many—where moral truth and human passion are touched with a certain largeness, sanity, and attractiveness of form." Dr. Henry van Dyke, another eminent authority, said "the literature that abides is that which recognizes the moral conflict as the supreme interest of life." The books referred to in this volume pass such an austere test and there is a touch

of originality in the way Dr. Davies interprets the essential message of his authors. Francis Thompson's The Hound of Heaven is described as "an epic of the Love that will not let us go," and with fine discernment the preacher declares the gospel of eternal grace in Christ. The Letters of James Smetham are among the treasures of the epistolary art. This volume suggests "the use of the imagination in religion," an excellent subject and well treated. A good plea is made for the imagination in the study of the Bible. "If we find dullness in the Bible it is because our minds are heavy and preoccupied; they have been lulled to sleep on truths which angels desire to look into. This is not a museum of sacred antiquities to which we are led, but the word of a living God, spoken for the guidance, comfort, and redemption of human life. Reverence is indispensable, scholarship may be very helpful, but, if we would make that ancient world real, if we would enter into the faith which endured, the need which throbbed into prayer, the love which pled and warned, if we would 'consider Jesus' for our own strengthening and inspiration, if we would walk 'among the seven golden candlesticks,' and understand the significance of the Church of Christ—then must we summon to our help imagination's utmost power." How the common round of daily routine can be transformed by the play of the imagination is convincingly illustrated by many quotations from Smetham's letters. The text of this sermon is "Thine eyes shall see the king in his beauty: they shall behold the land that is very far off."

Ibsen's masterpiece, Peer Gynt, teaches "the ignominy of halfheartedness." This temper, far too common in modern Christianity, is sharply scored, but the underlying thought of the dramatist was the perilous principle of selfishness maintained by the mythological trolls and expressed in the line, "To thyself be—enough," and which was the undoing of Peer. Another searching study is Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter which enforces "the fact of sin" in its infamous depths and depraving consequences, individual and social. Both Ibsen and Hawthorne were keen diagnosticians but they had no evangel. They forcibly set forth the truth:

> "Could my zeal no respite know,
> Could my tears for ever flow,
> All for sin could not atone—"

But they stopped there and knew nothing of the redemption of Christ, who is the only light and hope of the penitent.

Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture proclaims the laws of life. We are, however, reminded that life is so constituted that it needs not laws but vital principles for its completion. What those principles are receive attention in the lectures on Tennyson's In Memoriam, "a poet's plea for faith"; Wordsworth's Ode to Duty, "freedom and restraint"; Browning's Saul, "the heart's cry for Jesus Christ"; Masefield's The Everlasting Mercy, "the fact of conversion." These are great themes and handled with a deep sense of their spacious realities. "Christianity always amazes us by its faith in redeemed human nature. Those who once were sunk in the

deepest and most degrading bondage are trusted to act like sons of God." Christianity is essentially the acceptance of an ideal as the supreme reality. It has changed the world because it has seen beyond the world. Its power has been reinforced by its dreams. It is revolutionary and conservative at the same time." "We have made too little, not too much, of the Real Presence of our blessed Lord in the Sacrament. When he took bread and wine and blessed them, he was pointing us forward to the time when all things should become sacramental. We are intended to hold communion with him in all things, and to find coming to meet us, through all the luminous transparencies of our world, 'A presence that disturbs us with the joy of elevated thoughts.' If we begin by finding him in one place, we may end by finding him in every place." These quotations suggest the rich thought and fine style in this attractive volume.

"The creative power of the Christian Faith" is the lesson from Morley's Life of Gladstone, assuredly one of the greatest of recent biographies. The British statesman was well described as "a great Christian" by his political opponent, Lord Salisbury. What Spurgeon wrote to him sums up the character of the grand old man of England of a former generation, "You do not know how those of us regard you who feel it a joy when a premier believes in righteousness. We believe in no man's infallibility, but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity."

Every chapter has a distinct message, and the book will take a place among the best productions of recent months.

The American Red Cross in the Great War. By HENRY P. DAVIDSON, Chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The Story of the American Red Cross in Italy. By CHARLES M. BAKEWELL. Pp. 253. New York: The Macmillan Company.

A Service of Love in War-Time. American Friends Relief Work in Europe, 1917-1919. Pp. 284. By RUFUS M. JONES. New York: The Macmillan Company.

WHEN the final verdict of time is pronounced upon the world-earthquake from 1914 to 1918, it will place just above the heroic story of the soldiers of war who slew and destroyed, the moral grandeur of the soldiers of mercy who healed and saved. Perhaps the names of Herbert Hoover and Henry P. Davidson will appear on the scroll of eternal fame higher even than the noble names of Foch, Haig, and Pershing.

With characteristic modesty, Mr. Davidson has recited the story of this holy warfare against suffering, disease, and famine—a conflict whose field was wider even than the military operations from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. At the opening of the war, the United States had the smallest Red Cross membership of any one of the great powers, less than 200,000; at the close of the war we had the greatest, more than 30,000,000. The Red Cross had its martyrs, who made the supreme sacrifice of life and whose dust sleeps with that of the soldier boys all along the "far-flung battle-line." Stories such as that, briefly told by Mr. Davidson, of Jane

Delano in France, and by Mr. Bakewell of Lieutenant McKey in Italy must shine in the records of golden deeds that cannot die. Listen to these words taken from the lips of Lieutenant McKey, artist and saint:

"I never carried a weapon, and I think that is the spirit of the Red Cross. We have lost some of the spirit that inspired the Red Cross in its inception. We look too much to ranks, make too much of military organization. The Red Cross was born as a protest against war and its brutalities. Our task is to wipe away the blood of the wounded and to spread the spirit of fellowship. The true symbol of the Red Cross is not the Sam Browne Belt, but the rope of the Cappucine. Yes, that should be our uniform. We should have the same spirit as those men, who, in the Middle Ages, went out to preach to the poor." Page 83.

The Red Cross is a true League of Nations. Its work as expressed by a prominent Italian has been, "not merely a work of compassion but a work of large constructive statesmanship."

To no one was the Great War a more tragic test than to the Quakers. Professor Jones has told in a beautiful way how a large group of them passed through the furnace-fires of this spiritual assay, and found in it an opportunity to affirm their historic testimony against war, and at the same time won deliverance from narrow religious individualism to the larger life of sacrificial service. With perfect patriotism to their country combined with absolute loyalty to their pacific creed, they did their part, and were "courageous in the cause of love and the hate of hate." We may not all agree with them that war is never necessary to the solution of world-problems, but already we have discovered, two years after the armistice, that it is no final solution.

King's College Lectures on Immortality. By Rev. J. F. Bethune-Baker, D.D., Rev. Preb. A. Caldecott, D.D., D.Litt., Very Rev. Hastings Rashdall, D.D., Prof. Wm. Brown, M.A., D.Sc., M.D., Rev. H. Maurice Relton, D.D., Pp. viii+249. Macmillans.

The five popular addresses in this volume on a theme whose interest never wanes were delivered to large audiences at King's College, London, in 1919. Their value is not in any novelty of argument or scientific technicality, but in their simplicity and adaptation to the "man in the street." It seems unfortunate that no lecture was delivered on the metaphysical arguments for immortality. Such a lecture would not need to be obscure. Plato in the past and William James in our day could make philosophy luminous and popularly interesting.

The lecture on the Religious Value of the Idea of a Future Life contains a clever devaluation of Leuba's book, The Belief in God and Immortality, showing the small significance of the questionnaire on which the American professor based his agnostic conclusions. Individual personality is shown to be of supreme value as an ultimate reality. Social or corporate immortality does not cancel but emphasize the worth of the individual, by furnishing a larger self-realization. The dignity of human life is closely related to its destiny.

Dr. Rashdall ably supports the ancient contention of Plato and Kant (and above all, of our Lord) in showing that the unrealized capacities of human nature and the moral contradictions of life demand immortality—as an ethical end. The final lecture, on the Christian Contribution to the Conception of Eternal Life, bases its argument on the apostolic foundation of Jesus and the Resurrection. The eternal life is a part of personal Christian experience. The communion of the soul with God and the spiritual fellowship of finite spirits are witnesses to the endless duration of the redeemed life. He nobly pleads for the immortality of the whole man, soul and body. "Man, *all* immortal, hail!"

The conservation and persistence of moral values, the necessary postulates of any life really worth living, are the enduring ethical ground of our faith in the Being of a Personal God and in our personal immortality.

The Children's Great Texts of the Bible. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, D.D. Volumes I, II, and III. 8vo, pp. xi+327; vii+332; vii+324. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE family pew has disappeared like many another excellent institution of a former day. It is vain to wish it back, and it is more to the point to provide some substitute. A childless church is as much of a paradox as a childless family, and the fact that children are conspicuous by their absence from the church service is demanding serious attention. The relation between the church and the Sunday school is a loose one. It is a common complaint that few scholars attend church. It is therefore not surprising that only one out of every five joins the church. Our hope is in the Sunday school, and a passage must be kept open from it into the church.

The interest in religious education is an encouraging sign, and good results are sure to come when we increase the company of trained teachers. But our business just now is with the church service and how to secure the attendance of children. The junior sermon goes a great way toward solving this problem. For one thing, it makes clear that children are expected in church and welcomed and are specially remembered at the service. The "sillily simple" style of address is absurd and the sugar-coated pills insult the intelligence of the child. It is not entertainment but instruction and appeal that should be given. Not shallow but suggestive, not profound but practical, not goody but good, the junior sermon must reckon with the imagination and the will.

Preachers with the juvenile gift have made a great success of this part of their pulpit ministry, but even those who are not particularly talented in this respect can do much if they are furnished with the right sort of material. It is to be had in abundance in the new series of volumes edited by Dr. James Hastings. His versatility apparently has no limits, and he is preeminent as a book editor. While we are greatly indebted to him for his Bible Dictionaries, the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, and many other valuable books. This latest contribution is by no means the least important. The addresses are intensely interesting, full

of pith and point, with appropriate stories which illustrate the truth. They have a decided advantage in that they help to a larger knowledge of the Bible. Every conceivable subject that touches the child life and appeals to the child mind is presented in a way that attracts and holds the attention from start to finish. Several of the texts could hardly be called children's great texts, but the title was doubtless suggested by an earlier series of twenty volumes on The Great Texts of the Bible, to which this latest series might well be regarded as supplementary. But every text used in these three volumes is preachable and lends itself to good treatment for the benefit of the children. When completed they will make a library of exceptional value to preachers, parents, teachers, and little folks.

We can refer only to a few addresses in this large treasury. "The Garden of the Soul" emphasizes three points, that it must be well enclosed, cultivated, and well watered. "My Brother's Keeper" teaches the truth of responsibility with several illustrations from biography. "One of our best Friends" is on the rain. "Little by Little" tells of quiet and steady growth. "A Swarm of Bees" enforces the lesson of industry, cleanliness, and usefulness. "The Right Kind of Ears" are open, understanding, attentive, obedient. "A Morning without Clouds" brings out the thought that the morning of life should be pure, beautiful, glad. "The Right Kind of Tongue" is well controlled, true, pure, kind. "Five Smooth Stones" are humility, faith, courage, prayer, endeavor. The titles of some of the addresses are God's Dwelling-place," "God's Gift and Ours," "Two Saints of God," "A Father's Heart," "A Throne for the King's Mother," "The Baby's Anthem," "The Word in the Heart," "The Meaning of a Monument," "An Unbecoming Necklace," "The Palm Tree," "Searching the Cellars," "The Month of Color," "The Key of the Summer," "Christ our Hiding-place," "Mending the Holes."

The preacher who wisely uses this ample material will succeed in becoming a faithful minister to the children of his congregation.

Bergson and Personal Realism. By Ralph Tyler Flewelling. Pp. 304. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1920.

One's first reaction to the title of this book might well be the cry, What! One more drop in the already overflowing bucket of Bergsoniana! But after all Bergson is the most outstanding personality in the philosophical world of to-day; and Professor Flewelling's work is not like other Bergson books. It is neither an exposition of Bergson's system as a whole, such as Le Roy and Carr and Wilm have written; nor is it an attempt to discover the positive religious aspects of his thought, such as one finds in the books of Miller and Mrs. Herman. It is rather, as the publisher's announcement states, "a critique of Bergson, showing his deficiencies on the side of the Philosophy of Religion." Professor Flewelling is conscious that this aim may make the discussion "seem hypercritical"; but this he explains as due to the fact that "by rather extreme measures we may attract attention to elements of danger which are easily overlooked by

reason of the winning charm and contagious enthusiasm of the philosopher" (p. 25). Granting this limitation in method, one finds in the book a successful attainment of the author's aim.

After a brief introduction, the volume proceeds to Section I, The Philosophy of Change; successive chapters present Bergson's conceptions of Being, of Memory and Life, of Intuition and Intelligence, of Space and Time, of Freedom and Causation, of Creative Being, and of The Fragile Flower of Human Personality. Section II is a constructive attempt to define Personal Realism (which is identical with the type of Personalism held by Bowne), and to distinguish it from current philosophies such as Neo-realism—with which few indeed would be tempted to confuse it!—other forms of Personal Idealism, Bergson's thought, and Individualism. The book is prefixed by an analytical table of contents which makes the course of the argument very clear. Even so, there remains some question as to just how the author conceives the relation of the two sections. It might be fair to say that the real unity of the book lies in the idea of Personal Realism rather than in Bergson's philosophy, and that the title might therefore as well have read, Personal Realism and Bergson.

The fundamental criticism of Bergson made by the author is that his concepts are shifting and vague. Bergson calls the self "I," "body," "consciousness," and "representation." With regard to this, the author justly observes that "the classing of contradictory ideas under identical terms can never lead to clearness nor to the solution of the problem" (37). Bergson tells us that memory is the intersection of mind and matter. The author points out that this "definition acquires standing because we have given to the term 'mind' the content of 'spirit'"—and Bergson proposes "to use memory as a term in which to express spirit." The circle is complete! Numerous other proofs of unclarity in Bergson's thought are given. In the end, all reduce to some inadequacy in interpreting personality. The author concludes the section with the remark that "any philosophy which is unclear in its definition of personality and its relation to fundamental being is unclear in all. . . . He who is guilty of the breach of one commandment is guilty of all" (p. 194). To the reviewer this statement appears extreme. One may surely find much that is clear and valuable in Bergson, despite the obfuscation of personality. Does not the author himself say that Bergson "has done work which we believe is of great significance in the clearing of philosophical ideals"? (p. 25). Of the significant work of Bergson, the author rates the theory of pure duration as "the high point of attainment" (p. 129). "Pure duration," says Bergson, "is the form which the succession of our conscious states assumes when our *ego* lets itself *live*, when it refrains from separating its present state from its former states." Professor Flewelling points out that this "implies the self-identifying quality of human personality," and he holds that "this element of duration is the unique possession of the spirit" (p. 44). If this interpretation be correct—and the reviewer is inclined to believe that it is—then there is at least one strand of the philosopher's thought that is not vitiated by unclearness in other strands. On page 156, the author goes

on to discuss "the meaning of duration and change in the Creative Being," that is, in God. He makes clear that one cannot apply the concept of absolute change to the Divine Being (p. 158), but he arrives at the conclusion that "some definition of God that will leave him something else than forever static, forever self-contained, at infinite remove from the actualities of his world, is necessary to a very living and practical belief in him" (p. 168). This lesson for theism, drawn from Bergsonism, is reinforced by the reflection that "our demand for changelessness in the Divine Being depends, not upon a living experience in him, but rather, in those moral verities that do not pass nor change" (p. 169). This principle is suggestively related to the incarnation (p. 270ff.).

The book contains many wise and quotable observations. "In philosophy one has not done his full duty when he has said "Good morning" to a fundamental principle, if thereafter he proceed to act as if that principle did not hold." "Intuition without intelligence is no more than the meaningless or equivocal raging of the sibyl. Intelligence without some measure of intuition is impossible" (pp. 90, 102). In style, it is clear and compact. The author is a member of the Bowne school, but his work is no mere repetition of Bowne's phrases. He is familiar with the main currents of modern thought, and, through his personal contacts with Bergson in connection with the A. E. F. University, is peculiarly well equipped to write on that philosopher. The reader may not agree with every assertion made by the author; but he will find in the book valuable orientation regarding contemporary philosophy, and many suggestions to stimulate thought and to encourage further reading.

Boston University. EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN.

Some Eighteenth Century Churchmen. Glimpses of English Church Life in the 18th Century. By G. LACEY MAY, M.A. 12mo, pp. 224. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (New York: Macmillan).

DELIGHTFUL sketches, not too long to weary the ordinary reader, and not too short to be satisfying to the serious student. We have read them with delight. The author is in warm sympathy with an earnest type of piety whether in evangelical or high churchman. The subjects are Samuel Johnson, Whitefield, Wesley, John Newton, Cowper, Porteus, Watson, Hannah More, Crabbe, and Wilberforce, with excellently reproduced portraits of Watson, Newton, Porteus, and Crabbe, with a picture of Whitefield preaching in Cornwall (from an old print). So much being said in praise of an admirable volume, a correction or two might be allowed. It is vain to excuse (p. 79) Wesley's disregard of his ordination vows in invading parishes by reference to the words in the office of the Ordering of Priests, "to seek for Christ's sheep that were dispersed abroad, and for his children who were in the midst of this naughty world." This was only a general description of a priest's love for his flock and fidelity as pastor; it is explained by other expressions in the office, such as, "bring all, such as are or may be committed to your charge," "them that specially pertain to thee," "people committed to your charge," and the words of giving author-

ity "to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereinto." The real and sufficient excuse for Wesley was his providential call and place. Over against assertions on p. 90, Wesley allowed societies in Dublin to hold services in church hours, and took other steps which he must have foreseen would inevitably lead to separation. For a list of some of these portentous acts see Faulkner, Story of the Methodists, 1903, 3d ed., 1912, pp. 18-21. It is misleading to use the word unanimous as to the decisions of Wesley's conferences, as Wesley was legally the conference and the decisions were his alone. As a matter of fact some of the preachers had little patience with his inconsistencies here, and he once confessed that he did not know how to answer their arguments. Methodism had never (see p. 91) an "honored place within the fold of the Church of England," much less was she ever a "preaching order" in it. For a full and impartial statement of the burning question of Wesley's churchmanship see Faulkner's Wesley as Sociologist, Theologian, Churchman, 1918, with the three appendices. It was not Newton but Cowper who wrote the hymns, "Hark, My Soul, It Is the Lord," "God Moves in a Mysterious Way," and "There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood" (see p. 98).

Few brighter intellects ever served the Church of England than Bishop Watson, though a man of worldly ambitions and unspiritual aims, and the chapter on him is fascinating. Without knowing a line of chemistry he stood for the Cambridge professorship in that science in 1764, and thus himself tells the amazing story: "At the time this honor was conferred upon me, I knew nothing at all of Chemistry, had never read a syllable on the subject, nor seen a single experiment in it; but I was tired with mathematics and natural philosophy, and the *vehementissima gloriae cupido* stimulated me to try my strength in a new pursuit, and the kindness of the University (it was always kind to me) animated me to very extraordinary exertions. I sent immediately after my election for an operator to Paris; I buried myself as it were in my laboratory, at least as much as my other avocations would permit; and in fourteen months from my election, I read a course of chemical lectures to a very full audience, consisting of persons of all ages and degrees, in the University." What a tremendous force such a man would have been in his diocese as bishop of Llandaff (1782-1816) if he had put the same diligence and concentration for the kingdom of God as he did to master chemistry! But alas! far different was the cultured Watson.

J. A. Faulkner.

Some Aspects of International Christianity. By John Kelman. 12mo, pp. xi+167. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1 net.

Lest We Forget. By Hugh Black. 12mo, pp. 224. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.50.

The war has broadened our horizon and increased our responsibilities. The excessive light might blind our vision and darken our understanding, and much good energy is apt to be dissipated. Never was it more neces-

sary to clear our mind of cant so that phrases will not be a substitute for practice nor invective supplant illumination. The business of the Church is to embody and mediate the Spirit of Christ in a world that is unsettled and at cross-purposes.

The writers of these volumes were at one time ministers of Free St. George's Church, Edinburgh, but they surrendered to the lure of America much to our advantage. While covering the same ground, the discussions supplement each other, and their interpretation of Christian principles which go to the root of things is quite pertinent to the present situation. There is an avoidance of facile and slushy optimism as well as of patronizing pessimism. The idea of dedication to the mission of world-redemption is uppermost in the mind of both men. Dr. Kelman points out that we need definiteness and should limit our efforts in the spirit of concentration. The essence of originality consists of the ability to think things through for oneself; but, as Dr. Black reminds us, there are many who dislike to think and who balk at the demands to reconsider fundamental positions. It is nevertheless mandatory especially in the regions of personal religion, the Church with its problems of denominationalism and efficiency, the social outlook and internationalism.

"The Relation of Christianity to Patriotism" is the title of a well thought out chapter in Dr. Kelman's volume. Jesus lived amidst the rival patriotisms of the Jew with his narrow and intense belief in himself, of the Roman and his loyalty to the ideal of political empire, of the Greek and his devotion to culture. Our Lord, however, refused to be a partisan and insisted on justice to all. Cosmopolitanism is too vague a term for the average mind. The rights of others can be adequately considered only as we accept a rational patriotism. Some aspects of this subject are further considered by Dr. Black in his chapter on "Patriotism, True and False." He shows that the fallacy of cosmopolitanism carries with it the danger of aloofness from the duties and responsibilities of the actual relations in which we are; it tends to ignore the facts and experiences of history which we call patriotism, and mistakes the whole nature of the evolutionary process.

Dr. Kelman's chapter on "Individual and National Morality" is a decidedly important contribution for these days of recrudescence of embittering nationalisms. The standards of public morality must of necessity be lower than those of private morality. The first represents the will of the majority of people, that is, the average mind, and does not reckon with the idealists or the criminals and moral degenerates. The nation is furthermore the trustee for its individual citizens, whose protection is its first obligation. The sacrifice incumbent on an individual may often be a breach of trust if made by the nation as such. The argument is well worked out and should be studied by preachers. A good service would be done the cause of truth if this lecture were reprinted and widely circulated among the laity of all the churches. Dr. Black's chapter on "The Doctrine of the State" makes an important distinction between the German doctrine that the individual exists for the state, which is the essence

of autocracy, and the opposite doctrine that the State exists for the individual, which expresses the truth of Democracy. This latter should, however, be guarded against extreme applications which confuse license with liberty, and anarchy with freedom. The recognition of the intrinsic rights of the individual involves the vital issues of freedom, self-government, justice, as interpreted in the light of man's true history, which is "the history of his conscience, of his moral development."

A deep concern in the provoking question of The League of Nations is shown by both writers. They expound the subject from the standpoint of the highest Christian idealism. Dr. Black's chapters on "The Cleavage of the World," "The Moral Issue," "The Meaning of the Victory," prepare the needed background for the chapter on "The Binding of the Nations." Dr. Kelman is equally frank and fair in his chapter on "The League of Nations." The difficulties are squarely faced, objections are honestly answered, the alternatives are clearly stated. The appeal is to Christian sentiment, which has regarded war as an intolerable absurdity, a shocking anachronism, an inexcusable tragedy, and which resents the idea that man is destined forever to resort to the barbarous methods of war in settling disputes. But, as Dr. Black writes, "the danger of the religious point of view is to be placidly and impractically idealist." We must not wait for perfection and as practical men we should put our ideals into practice, even though the realization may oft be imperfect. It is worth mentioning that in most of the discussions about a League of Nations, the Christian ideal has been tacitly ignored, and this failure is a reflection on the purely material ends that seem to be prominent in the minds of certain leaders. Spiritual considerations that should control the issues and give the deciding vote have been curtly dismissed. The constitution of the League of Nations can assuredly be improved, but it should not on that account be rejected *in toto*. "If all plans for a League of Nations fail, what is the alternative?" Dr. Black answers his own question. "At the best it means plunging the world back again into its rivalries and enmities, each nation arming itself to the teeth, building its defences, one day sooner or later to end in a cataclysm. It means a reversion to the same old system, and nations will be held in the same devil's toils, and these dead shall have died in vain." Dr. Kelman makes an earnest plea for the entrance of the United States. "For her own sake America must come in. She lives under the beneficent shadow of such men as Washington and Lincoln, and their spirit lives on in her. But these were men of the far horizon. They were not local politicians, but world-statesmen. . . . As to the future, no man can see far into the years, nor anticipate the destinies of nations. Yet certain it is that no land on earth can long remain in isolation. The dawn is ominous, and the morrow will bring new combinations and massed forces against which a united civilization must be prepared to stand. Even for her own sake America must come in—but how much more for the world's sake! No alliance which other nations might achieve could be effective without her. To tell the other allies to go on with the League of Nations upon their own account is to ask for an

impossibility. Without America there can be no League of Nations. Its universality is its unique characteristic, without which it can never exist."

A further reason for the share of the United States is based on the need for a closer compact between English-speaking peoples. Dr. Kelman is generously appreciative in his chapter on "Britain to America"; it voices the sentiments of friendship which should be more fully cultivated between these two nations. Dr. Black is equally explicit and exposes the demagogues in both countries, who appeal to ignorance and prejudice and spurious patriotism. "In Great Britain they glorify the vast world-wide empire, and ask grandiloquently what larger unit can be needed. In America they distort history and revive old resentments."

The bearing of foreign missions on international relationships is well brought out in Dr. Kelman's chapter on "Statesmanship in Foreign Missionary Work." He says, "The curse of heathenism everywhere is the curse of local gods. The consequent religion is bound to be petty, wanting in imagination, and full of the immorality of a favoritism which can be secured by bribes or lost by giving offense to the touchy gods. The great business of the Christian missionary is to delocalize the gods of the heathen, and to reveal instead of them the one God over all, blessed forever, revealed in Jesus Christ, who is neither a child of the East nor the West, but is the Son of man forever." This surely is the urgent business of the Christian preacher at home, to educate public opinion so that we shall get rid of the bane of parochialism in social, industrial, national, and religious living, and thus manifest fidelity to the God of all life and all of life.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Vol. I for 1919-1920. Edited for the Managing Committee by CHARLES C. TORREY. Published and sold by the Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. 1920.

AFTER twenty years of existence, the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem has published its first "Annual," containing researches carried on under the auspices of the School. Hitherto lack of funds had prevented such publication, though the material was on hand. But General Allenby's victories brought new life to Palestine, and with it a more lively interest in the work of the School and increased support from home. Hence more vigorous activities of the school and the first issue of the annual volume. These first fruits of biblical scholarship deserve a most hearty welcome.

The first article is by Professor Charles C. Torrey, of Yale University, on "A Phœnician Necropolis at Sidon." It is the account of the results of the first excavation undertaken by the American School in Jerusalem, consisting of the exploration of a series of Phœnician rock-tombs, in the year 1901. The site of the excavation was about a mile from the city of Sidon, not far from what seems to have been its ancient cemetery. Fortunately the land was the property of the American Presbyterian Mission in Sidon, who were not unwilling to allow the exploration.

The underground burial-place yielded among other things a number of marble coffins, "anthropoids," or in the shape of human figures, dating back in some instances to the fifth and fourth century before Christ. The lid of the coffin represents a shrouded human figure with head and face exquisitely sculptured, equaling the finest specimens of Greek art. The face is painted and the colors well preserved; hair dark red; face flesh-color; lips vermilion; white of the eyes tinged with blue; iris rich brown; pupils black, and eyelids on both lids indicated with fine lines.

These anthropoid marble sarcophagi are a peculiar Phœnician creation. They are an imitation of the Egyptian mummy-case, developed by Greek artists. They illustrate the cosmopolitan character of Phœnician civilization so fully described by the prophet Ezekiel (chapter 27); as they brought their wares from all lands, so they combined Egyptian and Greek ideas in bestowing care upon their dead.

It is of no small interest to learn from these finds that the Phœnicians had come to know the practice of dentistry. A set of teeth discovered showed that several of the lower front teeth had been badly loosened. The dentist had made a "bridge" of gold wire, using the sound teeth on either side as pillars, and had evidently succeeded in his purpose of holding the teeth securely in place.

The second article should prove of peculiar interest to Methodists. It is by the late Professor Hinckley G. Mitchell, who passed away while the article was in press. The subject is "The Modern Wall of Jerusalm." The data for it, consisting of photographs, measurements, and detailed description, were collected while Professor Mitchell was director of the School in Jerusalm in 1901-1902.

There are seventy-one plates accompanying the description of the wall, and the article is a storehouse of scholarly and painstaking information. It is an invaluable aid in following the scriptural injunction (Psa. 48. 12, 13):

> "Walk about Zion, and go round about her;
> Mark ye well her bulwarks;
> Consider her palaces;
> That ye may tell it to the generation following."

The third article is by Professor Lewis P. Paton, of Hartford Theological Seminary, on "Survivals of Primitive Religion in Modern Palestine." Biblical references leave it beyond doubt that the Israelites adopted certain religious ideas from the Canaanites whom they conquered. These ideas were associated with certain springs, trees, mountains, graves, and holy stones, of which Professor Paton gives a full list of biblical references. When Professor Paton made an extended trip through Syria and Palestine in 1903, he observed a number of survivals of this Canaanitish religion. For instance, there is a solitary holy tree half-way between the Jordan and Irbid in ancient Gilead. It is covered with bits of rags that have been hung upon it by pilgrims. Sacrifices are killed there and the blood is smeared upon the trunk of the tree. While Professor Paton was sitting beneath it, a woman brought a boy with a diseased foot "to obtain a blessing," and to make a vow for his recovery,

Professor Paton comes to the conclusion that at many places in modern Palestine all the rites of the primitive sanctuaries of Canaan are still kept up. In spite of the centuries, long opposition of official Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, one may still say with the author of the Book of Kings, "Nevertheless the high places are not taken away, the people still sacrifice and burn incense in the high places."

For new and first-hand information throwing light upon the Bible this volume will not easily find a rival, and no well-equipped biblical library can afford to be without it. ISMAR J. PERITZ.

Syracuse University.

Socialism vs. Civilization. By BORIS L. BRASOL. Pp. 289. Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE author of "Socialism vs. Civilization," Boris Brasol, a Russian, is a close student of social and economic problems. He has studied them theoretically and in the way of their practical workings in Russia, France, Switzerland, and finally in the United States. His legal training and his wide legal practice have enabled him to approach the most complex problems with a sense of balance and rigid logic. His study of art and world literature is probably responsible for his clear style in dealing with a problem which is so involved. In this country, Lieutenant Boris Brasol has served the United States government and his services were highly appreciated by his superiors.

The book is short enough to be read even by those who in our busy times are compelled to read only books which are worth reading. The book is long enough to present in a comprehensive way the underlying motives of radicalism. The author has proved that Marxian Socialism is the theoretical basis of modern radicalism in all its ramifications, including Bolshevism, Communism, and I. W. W.ism. He devotes a careful analysis to the fallacies of this theoretical basis and thereupon draws a graphic picture of the practical workings of Socialism in Soviet Russia. He gives a vivid description of radical agitation which is now prevailing in the United States and elsewhere. He produces a number of exhibits of Socialist and I. W. W. propaganda, in American workshops, and he winds up his volume with a tentative enumeration of certain practical and constructive means for appeasing the present social turmoil.

The purpose of the book is constructive. It sounds a warning to those who are inclined to hasty social experiments and who believe that radical social schemes, and not the betterment of the man himself and of his doings, will lead to better civilization.

Reviewing Mr. Brasol's book, the Philadelphia Public Ledger remarked:

"Mr. Brasol has produced a big work, full of information carefully thought out, and placed before the reader. He copiously quotes from the works of the men whose tenets he criticises, and anyone who wishes to obtain a just appreciation of the most burning question of the day cannot afford not to read it."

Professor Carver of Harvard University, in his introduction to Socialism vs. Civilization, states as follows:

"The author has performed a useful service by bringing this lesson home to the American people. He comes to his task with an unusual equipment, having studied the literature of Marxism and the propagandist methods of Marxism in several different countries."

The editor of the French magazine La Vieille-France in the concluding paragraph of his review of Mr. Brasol's book says:

"The author studies all the concrete manifestations of the socialist gospel in Russia and America and gives a warning of the peril to civilized society resulting therefrom. This intelligent study would be of equal value to us as to our American friends."

The Weekly Review states:

"In his study and criticism of Marxian Socialism, Mr. Brasol states the case lucidly and persuasively."

Socialism vs. Civilization should have a mission among our Methodist people. It should reach the Methodist preacher as well as the Methodist layman. Now-a-days it is impossible to disregard the growing menace of Socialism by merely shrugging the shoulders. Socialism camouflaging under various forms must be understood in order to be counteracted and no one can fail to form a clear conception of the destructive aims of Red radicalism after he has read this valuable volume.

GEO. A. SIMONS.

Reformation und Methodismus: Vortrag gehalten am Reformationsfest im Vereinshaus der Methodistenkirche zu Zurich. Von Bischof Dr. theol. J. L. NUELSEN. Zurich: Druck and Verlag: Christliche Vereinsbuchhandlung.

APOLOGY is due the learned and able author and to the readers of this REVIEW for failure to notice this admirable treatment, due to the fact that the pamphlet got mislaid. This reviewer has read it twice with deep appreciation, and has seldom gotten hold of a discussion which pleased him better. It is to be devoutly hoped that Lutheran leaders everywhere will read it or have read it, as it ought to mean a new era of more intelligent understanding of our cause, which means higher regard for it. The author well emphasizes the eternal debt we owe to the Reformation. "Without Luther there would have been no Wesley. For the central point of his life of faith, the clear certainty of salvation as the result of personal conscious appropriation of salvation, Wesley had to thank, besides the instructions of the Herrnhuters (Moravians), the light that dawned in his soul as he heard read Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. German Reformation piety stood at the cradle of Methodism. 'As a branch from the bough, so Methodism went forth out of the Reformation,' judges one of the recent writers of our national (Swiss) Church. Yes, we confess with joy and thankfulness that we are a branch of the same stock, members of the same family in the household of God" (p. 3). The author speaks of the defects of the Reformation, however, and quotes the eminent

Church historian Brieger as saying: "It is a fact which is clear before the eyes of everyone who knows the inner development of Protestantism that to-day after 400 years we have taken possession of only the smallest part of the great inheritance." And he makes this interesting quotation from the Swedish church historian Lehmann: "Lutheran churches do not concern themselves as much as formerly with dogmatic theoretic questions; they have become more practical inasmuch as they emphasize more individual renewal and social betterments, and are more busy and strive after an exemplifying activity in the world. In temperament they are much more the children of John Wesley than any other followers of Luther. The founder of Methodism carried through a Reformation of the previous Lutheran Reformation, in that he awakened to life the Lutheran *Individualprinzip* within the Calvinist communities, and united it with the practical morals and world-wide mission-aims of Calvinism."

The lecture is divided into three main divisions: I. The Religious Question, the Relation of Man to God. II. The Social Question, the Relation of Man to Man. III. The Legal Question, the Relation of Church and State. The discussion is everywhere strong, suggestive, interesting, and the eight pages of notes are as interesting as the text. Our accomplished Bishop has here rendered an eminent service to his church in Europe, and English-speaking readers would find an hour of delight in a pamphlet so illuminating and edifying. A translation ought to appear.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

A Short History of the Doctrine of the Atonement. By L. W. GRENSTED, M.A., B.D. 8vo, pp. ix, 376. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. Price, $3.75.

A HISTORY such as is contained in this volume has long been desired. It is a lucid historical and critical exposition with ample quotations from the writers on the central belief of the New Testament. Principal Grensted does not attempt a constructive theory of the Atonement, but he makes a full report of what representative thinkers have written and indicates the direction in which the doctrine should be formulated for modern times. He makes a great deal of mysticism, and maintains that the death of Christ can be adequately appreciated from the standpoint of Christian experience.

Such is the nature of the Atonement that any writer on this subject must of necessity deal with most of the essential truths of Christianity, to which it is closely related. Among them are the personality and character of God, the Incarnation and salvation, the problems of sin, the Christian life and immortality. It is also evident that no single theory of the atoning death does any more than suggest one aspect of a multiform truth which can never be fully comprehended in all the varied wealth of its divine fullness.

The speculative mind of the Eastern Church tended toward mysticism, while the legal mind of the Western Church was taken up with practical questions. Both these types have persisted down to the present day, and in the restatement of Christian doctrine—one of our urgent duties—both

tempers must be reckoned with in the interest of the synthesis of truth. It is interesting to follow Mr. Grensted as he impartially estimates the various theories which have held sway at different periods in the thought and life of the church. It is furthermore worth remembering that the church has not pledged itself to any particular theory. "There is not, and has never been, any possibility of an appeal to authoritative statements which might serve to limit the field of inquiry. Speculation has been wholly free, unchecked, save in rare cases, such as that of Abelard, by the pressure of any traditional orthodoxy."

The emphasis in recent years has been laid on the moral theory. Its merit lies in the fact that it refuses "to believe anything less than the highest of God, to bind him by any metaphor which would make his action appear partial and onesided." But its weakness is that it has "no clear conception of sin as a positive power of evil in the soul and no account of the way in which the soul is enabled to break away from this power, to enter the fellowship of the sons of God." In this respect, the Penal theory is more outspoken and its two notable advocates of recent date were Dr. R. W. Dale and Principal James Denney, although their argument was considerably weakened by failure to reckon with the mystical element in Christianity. A similar lack is noticeable in certain exponents of the moral theory, such as McLeod Campbell and Benjamin Jowett. On the other hand some who upheld it separated the Incarnation far too much from the Cross and Atonement, so that there was a weakness in the mystical union they espoused. We have in mind such thinkers as Principal J. Caird and Bishop Westcott. But in the case of all writers, ancient and modern, "we find deficiencies made good by the introduction of ideas of a widely different character."

Any theory is, however, shorn of much of its appeal if it does not deepen the sense of guilt by a view of the Cross and point out how it can be removed by the acceptance of the vicarious life. "The Cross is central—not as involving anything retributive, not as penal, save from the point of view of earthly justice—but as the voluntary and self-imposed destruction, through a perfect obedience, of everything that could be made an avenue for sin. It is the consummation of a life-long Passion, wrought through a perfect obedience; and without it that Passion would fail of completeness, and it is the Cry of Desolation from the Cross which marks both the completion of the Incarnation, in Christ's assumption of human guilt, and the completion of the offering of penitence which puts that guilt away."

Throughout this excellent volume the reader is confronted by the two great forces which have consistently molded the history of Christian doctrine. One is the force of the original fact of Jesus Christ; the other is the force of a present experience. It is in respect of the second force that the significance of mysticism becomes so compelling. And related to it is the problem of personality, which demands thorough investigation in the light of psychology. "To speak of God as Ruler, Judge, or even as Father, is but to use a partial and necessarily one-sided metaphor. But when we speak of Him as Personal we use a term within which is contained all the meaning which our human personality but faintly shadows forth. In the

word 'person' is contained that which we need to a true doctrine of Atonement. No theory can stand which makes God less than personal, in the fullest sense in which man can understand the term." We hope Mr. Grensted will develop this thought in a second volume and furnish a constructive interpretation of what it involves.

For the present we are thankful to him for this valuable history because it carefully follows the course of thought during the Christian centuries and gives the background for the next step toward a richer comprehension of what Dr. Dale described as the triumphant theme of every New Testament writer. No subject should command more attention from preachers, and this study by Principal Grensted greatly aids to clarify and steady the thought of those who are called upon to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ, the Eternal Redeemer.

What is the Kingdom of Heaven? By A. Clutton-Brock. 12mo, pp. 152. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.75.

Dogma is the official pronouncement of church courts, which assumes a rigid and authoritative form to be accepted often on pain of excommunication. Doctrine is the explanation of religion, and it is dynamic and expansive according to the vitality of the religion so expounded. Dogma is the weapon of the ecclesiastic, doctrine is the tool of the teacher. The failure to distinguish between the two has produced endless controversies and misconceptions. One of the writers who are helping us to clear thinking is a layman. Mr. Clutton-Brock is an artist by profession, who since the war has become a prophet and a preacher. The transition is not difficult to understand, for the artist is a man of perception who imparts directly the impression of his vision of reality to others. In a deep sense Christ is "an artist, telling us how to do this and that so that we too may become artists, and may attain, through the right practice of our art, to the conviction of the great artist. . . . Our business, as Christians, is to practice the art of life under his direction, in the hope that we shall attain to his certainty (of God) and hand on the craft and the certainty to others." If we take Christ seriously and not lazily, we can understand the power of his counsel, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness." Our hesitation to do so is for the same reason that kept the rich young man from attaining perfection. Our possessions, whatever they are, of wealth or prejudice or pride, put us in a wrong relation with men and make us futile. This is because we are blind to the grandeur and fullness of Christ's ideal. We thus travel in a circle of vain endeavors and fruitless results.

It is well to have our beliefs jostled by an unconventional writer who spares nothing in his determination to present a constructive exposition of what Christ regarded as the deepest reality. His doctrine of the Kingdom has reference to the whole mind and nature of man and to all human activities, for man is related to the universe in all his faculties. A right relation is possible only through conversion of both the reason and the will. The skeptic fails because he relies exclusively on the

reason and so reaches negations. The religionist fails to achieve unity of life because he suspects the reason and insists on the will to believe which really inhibits belief. "Actual Christianity has always been infested by the heresy of mere emotion which produces sentimentality; and by the counter-heresy of mere thought, which produces all the lunacies of arid affirmation." Salvation, as popularly understood, is moved by an egotistic impulse. "Always the hope of the redemption of mankind has been confused with the hope of private salvation. The error of the church has been to give up the greater hope for the smaller." The attempt of the ecclesiastic to emphasize sacramental grace is thus in utter violation of Christ's teaching. To be sure, our author lays stress on penitence, conversion, worship, fellowship; but his standpoint is that of the whole and not the part, of all mankind and not only a select coterie of self-satisfied individuals. One reason why Christ's teaching has been misunderstood is that he first spoke to people who were unused to ideas and who were morbidly concerned with conduct. They were therefore incapable of grasping the full content of that intense utmost reality, which is God, who is at the center of all life and who controls all human activities with a view to the complete redemption of all mankind. The Beatitudes are discussed with striking suggestiveness. They are all "blessings upon those who have ceased to demand. The poor in spirit, the meek, the merciful, the peacemakers, are those who have forgotten their own demands upon life, and who therefore see what life has to give them. . . . All that is best worth having comes to him who does not insist on his right to anything. If your mind is set on your right to anything, you can enjoy only the maintenance of your right, not the thing itself. Men who fight for the earth and gain whole tracts of it for themselves have, in the very fighting, lost the power of enjoying it." This teaching is a final criticism of the practice, far too common, of people who are forever rushing and struggling but who do not live at the heart of things. To the charge that this is mysticism, the reply is made that while one type of mysticism is vague in speech and removed from earth, "the mysticism of the Kingdom of Heaven is concerned with conduct just as much as with feeling and thought."

The logic of this doctrine is irresistible and it is suggestively set forth in two chapters on the political and individual bearings of the Kingdom. "Political action is the effort of a society to exercise its common will; and the effort itself implies that that society has a common will which can be discovered and acted upon by political means." But in actual practice there is a clash between the conflicting wills of different classes, with the inevitable confusions and disasters which continue to afflict society and the nations. Democracy implies that there is a common will, but it can never be adequately expressed apart from the logic and life of the Kingdom of Heaven. Apply this principle to the industrial world and it will be seen that the problem of capital is not of ownership but of use. "Capital itself is the superfluous energy of mankind," but it can be directed aright only as there are individual knowledge, energy and genius. The director of energy and those who are directed

must, however, be controlled by the same aim, which is the well-being of mankind. So also for effective worship we need architecture and music and indeed all the arts in their highest splendor. From these and other considerations it follows that our acceptance of the fact of the Kingdom of Heaven brings us happiness and peace; and our refusal of it, due to insensitiveness and pride, brings us misery and bewilderment. The chief mission of the church then is "to assert that there is a real kingdom, to be found only by men in fellowship, each one learning to be aware of his own refusals, and ridding himself of them by helping others." Mr. Clutton-Brock has written a strong book which is worthy of the earnest study of all who are concerned in translating Christian ideals and principles into daily practice.

Education for Democracy. By HENRY FREDERICK COPE. 12mo, pp. 275. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.

A National System of Education. By WALTER SCOTT ATHEARN. 12mo, pp. 132. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.50, net.

The Malden Survey. Compiled under the Direction of WALTER SCOTT ATHEARN. 12mo, pp. 213. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $2.50, net.

How to Teach Religion. Principles and Methods. By GEORGE HERBERT BETTS. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.

Talks to Sunday School Teachers. By LUTHER ALLAN WEIGLE. 12mo, pp. 188. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Price, $1.25, net.

Training the Devotional Life. By LUTHER ALLAN WEIGLE and HENRY HALLAM TWEEDY. 12mo, pp. 90. New York: George H. Doran Co. Price, 75 cents, net.

Story-Worship Programs for the Church School Year. By JAY S. STOWELL. 12mo, pp. 156. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.50, net.

THE status of Protestantism is alarmingly insecure with regard to religious education. We talk about the evangelization and Christianization of the world without realizing that we first need to set our own house in order. There are twenty-seven millions of children and young people in this country who are growing up in "spiritual illiteracy" and another sixteen million who receive the merest apology for religious instruction under Protestant auspices. Our makeshift methods were doubtless the best we could follow in a former day, but the time has come seriously and emphatically to call a halt to our amateurish ways, with immature and untrained teachers and officers, a superficial curriculum and penurious policies. The almost universal slump in the Sunday schools of all the churches is the harvest of what was sown with good intentions, to be sure, but in mistaken ways.

The need for reform is not being advocated by theorists but by idealists, who realize that religious education must be placed on a more sub-

stantial basis. There are encouraging signs of a better day. A few discerning souls understand what should be done, but they are like a voice in the wilderness. Until this urgent question is soberly faced by the ministry and the laity, and the conscience of the church is roused, the prospects of a radical change are remote. A few of the recent books are here noticed, as indicating the trend of things and the direction in which we should go, and that without delay.

Dr. Cope, General Secretary of the Religious Education Association, has written several books setting forth the new program of the Sunday school. In his latest book he relates the problem to the ideal of democracy, which is essentially a religious concept, and, like religion itself, is "not an affair of a social contract, based on rights granted by authority, but an affair of the spirit." He is right that "Churches in a community are commonly small islands of intellectual, or of emotional coherence in a sea of practical indifference. Few are social leaven; most are more nucleative than disseminating." We must relate the church more thoroughly to the school, the home, the community, the college, if we are to help solve the problems of world living. The character of the education for a democracy is clearly outlined. Dr. Cope is outspoken in pointing out our shortcomings and he is suggestive in showing how they might be overcome. Much senseless talk has been indulged in on the Bible in our public schools by those who do not understand that this heritage of Democracy is necessary for moral and civic training and for a liberal education in literature and the fine arts. The last two chapters, on "The Realization of Democracy" and "Democracy in the Crucial Hour," sum up the definite message of this book.

Some aspects of this question are further developed by Professor Athearn. His book is a searching diagnosis of our public school curriculum. Last year there appeared a book on The German Conspiracy in American Education by Gustavus Ohlinger, which laid bare the subtle Teutonic attack on our national integrity. Professor Athearn's volume exposes other serious dangers which are a veritable menace to our security. We must certainly take time by the forelock. Quite to the point are two chapters on "A National System of Religious Education," which discuss some of the methods now being used. The course which he advocates is to establish "a system of church schools, extending from our Christian homes to our graduate schools of religion." How this might be carried out is shown with a clear grasp of all the factors involved.

The utter inadequacy of the churches to cope with the business of religious education is impressively proved in The Malden Survey. A study of seventeen Protestant Churches in Malden, a typical American city, with numerous diagrams and illustrations, makes clear that we have been trifling with our problem. No local church can meet the needs. It can be best done by community effort, as suggested by Dr. Cope and as specifically shown by Dr. Athearn with reference to the "Malden Plan," which has passed the stage of experiment and is bearing fruit. The problem of religious education is definitely a problem, or rather the problem of the churches, and it can be solved by larger denominational and inter-

denominational coordination. The question of financing such an enterprise is not quite as serious as may be imagined. More important than that is the question of local leadership, and where found, in city, town or village, other difficulties can be overcome.

The content of religious education is well analyzed by Professor Betts, who treats of this and other matters with insight. He realizes that it is more difficult to teach morals and religion than arithmetic and geography. Then there are the discouraging features of poor class-room facilities in most churches, of ill-adapted lesson material and of the lack of mental readiness on the part of the pupils. How these difficulties might be overcome is well discussed. Every chapter is clearly written, but special mention must be made of the chapters on "The Fourfold Foundation," "Religious Attitudes to Be Cultivated," "The Technique of Teaching," "Making Truth Vivid," and "Types of Teaching." The test of success is not to be measured by attendance but by the pupil's response to our efforts. "We have failed except as we have caused the child's spiritual nature to unfold and his character to grow toward the Christ ideal."

The crucial problem is that of the trained teacher. On this subject Professor Weigle's volume is intensely practical. "A common bane of Sunday school teaching has been the haziness of the teacher's own ideas concerning the truths of religion. Too many teachers are just good well-meaning Christian folk, whose beliefs are rooted in a surface soil of authority or convention and ultimately grounded in a loyal devotion to the right as it is given them to see the right, but who have never attained to any clear and consistent view of just what they believe and why they believe." The charge is not any too severe and this is the time for plain speaking. If teachers could only be induced to read this book—in many respects the best on the subject—our hopes of improvement might be quickened. But most of our teachers do not read and many of them do not take the church papers and they live from hand to mouth. There's the rub.

Religious education has to do with the development of character. Reverence is an important item. Religion is a life, and teaching religion has to do with the development of this life. Prayer is the vital breath of the soul, but as people must learn how to breathe in the interest of health, so must we be taught how to pray, how to offer praise and how to be worshipful. These questions are dealt with by Professors Weigle and Tweedy with a delicate sense of values. Their little book merits the consideration of teachers and officers.

The confusion in many church schools is pathetic and it is proverbial in regard to the opening exercises. As long as this continues there is a poor chance for Christian culture, and the brief period of instruction, such as it is, with many interruptions, is practically ineffective. Much of this can be avoided by those who would use Mr. Stowell's volume.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Jesus—The Master Teacher. By HERMAN HARRELL HORNE, Ph.D., Professor in New York University. 12mo. Association Press.

PROFESSOR HORNE, by the grace of God, is both a Christian and a teacher, eminently fitted to write on "Jesus—The Master Teacher."

Much has been said and written tangential to the subject. Professor Horne draws chords through it, and most of them are diameters—penetrating the center.

The concaveness in revivalism to-day demands convexity in the teaching element of Christianity. Big does this bulk in possibilities for the advancement of the Kingdom.

Professor Horne gives the psychology of attention and shows how admirably Jesus both paid attention and received it through advanced messengers, quick successive scenic thought—abundant in the familiar, illuming the unfamiliar. His walks with his pupils, even his posture is not overlooked, while his personality, that unanalyzable "*x*," is apprehended.

The "point of contact" is a *sine qua non*. There is no second until it has been accomplished. Professor Horne shows this effected by Jesus with his disciples, with the mass, with publicans and sinners and remade as in the case of Peter.

A "good mixer" is a rôle in which the best intentioned teacher or preacher is liable to strike the rock of Scylla or Charybdis. The Master Pilot is charted sailing between the two.

Not a reputable ocean steamer but has a port. Ships with none are derelicts, Ishmaels on the sea. Those who teach aimlessly should be weighted with a specific gravity exceeding water, thereby securing them a point of contact with the sea bed. The following aims are enumerated of the Great Teacher: Physical, to help men's bodies; moral, to raise its highest standard; intellectual, to teach spiritual truths; patriotic, to enjoin law-abiding citizenship; vocational, which he exemplified by social and economic virtues. His aims nineteen hundred years after are acclaimed the loftiest.

In the days of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the deep concerns of life were conversed about in public and private. Their recorded views have instructed the world. Professor Horne points out how Jesus illustrated the two essentials of conversation, a good mind and a good heart, without a blemish.

A score or more questions Jesus asked are listed. Their nature and his manner of putting them, provoking the fullest soul disclosures, confirms one of his reputed sayings, "They who question shall reign." The tact, charm, instructiveness of his answers are shown as well as the significance of those that were indirect and in the form of story. His silence speaks. Questions at no time ever caught him, like Homer, nodding.

Professor Horne appraises the value of the story in teaching. Parables, or stories, were an outstanding feature in the discourses of Jesus. His source material was from the inanimate, plants, animals, and men. He discerned everywhere the analogues, resemblances, and contrasts be-

tween the material and the spiritual. His stories are perfect in the four canonical parts. The Good Samaritan is "the world's greatest short story."

The Master's knowledge of the Old Testament is copiously used by him to infix spiritual truths. The inference his followers ought to make from this should be unmistakable.

To-day the "Project" method is receiving deserved recognition. As yet religious education has only a bowing acquaintance with this plan which so vitally connects the pupil with actual life situations. Jesus is shown to be master of occasions as he finds them, or as they may be created by him.

Several chapters are given to the use Jesus made of the concrete and, its nearest of kin, symbols, the law of apperception. In these, as well as throughout the book, appropriate scriptural citations are abundant.

The relative value of labor bestowed upon the individual and upon the multitude Professor Horne concludes with: "Jesus began with individuals, continued with crowds, and ended with individuals, during the three successive main periods of his ministry. He worked by preference and most successfully with individuals, because of the very nature of crowds. In fact he did not trust crowds, nor himself to them, as he trusted individuals."

Our teaching is culpably indifferent to the relation between impression and expression. "No impression without expression," Professor Horne recognizes as of cardinal importance in the teaching of Jesus, with whom ideas are functions of acts rather than acts of ideas. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The ideas, feelings, and acts of Jesus in behalf of children are to-day the best that are known to education. Professor George H. Palmer, the inspiring teacher of hundreds of Harvard men, in writing on the accumulated intellectual wealth of Jesus, reminds us that he who was its best example took "thirty years for acquisition and three for bestowal." This should be bound before the eyes of those candidates for the ministry who are prone to short-circuit preparation.

We wish the author had been less reserved in the chapter on "Motivation." The work as a whole is admirable, and should be read by all our preachers and teachers. It bristles with thought-quickening questions. The author is skilled in the practice of educational maieutics and will keep his readers, not at a twilight, but at a noonday wide-awakeness. Unsurpassed by any in the field of religious education, this workman, thoroughly furnished, has given us a book which will further a revival of religious education, on the eve of which we now are. It will be influential in changing the present scant accommodations secular keepers assign Jesus in the Educational Inn to the central room whence his rays shall illumine all other occupants and the whole fabric.

W. J. Thompson.

Drew Seminary.

A READING COURSE

The Originality of the Christian Message. By H. R. Mackintosh, D.D., D.Phil. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.75.

This volume is in many ways a pioneer contribution to Christian Theology studied in the light of the ethnic faiths. The survey is quite comprehensive, and while extended references are made to Buddhism and Hinduism, there is also much to the point about the religions and cults of the first century with which Christianity came in contact and into collision. The book is of interest to the foreign missionary and also to the preacher at home, who needs to have a fuller understanding of the genius of the Christian religion. Thus only can we appreciate its originality and realize that the gospel is a living thing, with a vital impulse that is inexhaustible and capable of progressive interpretations, in harmony with "its unexplored potentialities and its inherent creative powers."

What is Christianity? Dr. Mackintosh answers briefly but satisfactorily. It is "in essence, fellowship with God mediated through Jesus Christ." It brings us into communion with God not only as isolated individuals but in a community of faith. What this implies as to a definite view of the world and an attitude to it is developed with a wealth of thought and learning. The first lecture, on "The Meaning and Implications of Christianity," is an expansion of the definition of Christianity, "the climax and crown of other faiths in their nobler meaning." It was not original in its problems nor in some of its ideas and phrases, but in the personality of Jesus Christ, in whose life, death and victory "a new standard of reality and value had risen before the human mind." Notice how our author explains the thought of the apostle that Christ came forth "in the fulness of the times," and how conditions in non-Christian lands to-day are similar to those of the first century. In what respect is Christianity a personalistic religion and how should it be distinguished from pantheistic religions? What is the difference between religion as a rite and religion as a doctrine? Why did Paul fail at Athens and succeed at Corinth? The answer to this last question will indicate the efficiency of our own preaching.

The truth of the Trinity gives newness and distinctiveness to the Christian idea of God. Other religions have the idea of a Trinity, but it involves the errors of polytheism and pantheism. It is largely a metaphysical abstraction without any historical basis. The Christian Trinity is essentially monotheistic and enriches the character of the Divine Father, made known by the redeeming Son, whose grace is mediated to us by the efficient Spirit. It is, moreover, this truth that makes Christianity so uniquely theistic with its high ethical and spiritual features. If possible, read what Dr. Mackintosh has written on the Trinity in his previous volume on The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ, from which we quote a sentence: "God as Holy Love we name the Father; this same eternal God, as making the sacrifice of love and appearing in one finite spirit for our redemption, we name the Son; God filling as new life

the hearts to which his Son has become a revelation, we name the Spirit" (p. 526). In what respect is Christ's thought of God, as holiness, love and power so exceptional and final? Note how these three qualities are expounded with reference to Old Testament and Hellenistic thought. Why can Christianity never brook any rival? Note the advance made by Jesus over the loftiest ideas of the Old Testament about God. What Jesus taught was so singularly fresh because he made God known as the seeker of the sinful, as a present Reality, as having a Character without nationalistic and particularistic limits, as transcendent and yet vividly near us.

The personality of Christ—that is the crux of the whole matter. On this subject read Dr. Mackintosh's volume, above referred to, especially Book III on "The Reconstructive Statement of the Doctrine." Christ is not one of a class, nor even first among compeers. He occupies a central position as the Redeemer and Lord of mankind. It is as we gaze upon the Cross that we understand the true character of God and of man, and can form a searching estimate of sin. Note how this last point is worked out, and also the contrast between the Christian faith in Providence and the blighting conception of Fatalism. What is meant by the thought that "Christ is the distinctive fact of Christianity"? Note the fine comparative study of the ideas of incarnation, redemption, and mediation in Oriental cults, Hellenistic mystery-religions, and Christianity. The lecture in which this is discussed is on "The Divine Saving Activity."

The message of free divine grace offers redemption to the whole family of man. This beneficent truth is ably discussed in the lecture on "Redemption as an Experience." There were three ways which promised to satisfy the soul's hunger for God. One was legalism: the experience of Paul is the classic instance of its failure. Another was Graeco-Oriental mysticism: it stirred expectations only to disappoint them. Intellectualism was the third way, but gnosis, or esoteric knowledge, came far short of meeting the crying needs of humanity. Note the characteristic joylessness of their votaries in contrast to the spiritual freedom and buoyant gladness of those who entered into union with God through Jesus Christ, and had the experience of the perfected divine sonship of forgiven men. What are the modern representatives of these ancient rivals of the Christian method of redemption? All things considered, Christianity was essentially a new religion. This is true even when we think of its relationship to the Old Testament faith. Read what is said on this last point.

The proof of the uniqueness of Christianity is further offered in the lecture on "The Christian Ethic." It considers (1) the Christian moral ideal, which places God at the center and not human interest, and so is free from every taint of egoism, as in Stoicism and Buddhism: (2) the moral drawing power of Christianity which is religious; (3) the dynamic of prayer and the creative inspiration of the indwelling Spirit. The results are seen in the way Jesus has evoked in countless hearts the passion of grateful love. In speaking of the great moral triumphs of Christianity, we are reminded that in a sense the Christian ideal can never be attained in the present world order. This is because the Christian prin-

ciple contains vast resources not yet exhausted or even explored, and because the Kingdom of God has before it the prospect of eternity. What bearing does this thought have on Christian optimism and in what respect does it expose the errors of millennialism?

The final answer cannot then be given in a merely pragmatic sense. Unlike other religions, Christianity has no finality. It is a progressive faith which goes forward in proportion as it goes back to Christ. This is not a paradox, for Jesus Christ is not only a figure of past history, but the dominating figure of all history, inclusive of the future. Dr. Mackintosh is therefore justified in speaking of "The Absoluteness of Christianity." Those who think that there is to be a better revelation which shall supersede what we have in Christ are indulging in gratuitous speculation, without any regard to historical facts. Nor do they reckon with the Holy Spirit, the perennial source of revelation which is new, so far as it unfolds "ever more largely and clearly what has already been imparted in the life of Jesus." Note the discussion of the term "absolute," that it is compatible with the idea of evolution which does not apply to the supersession of Christianity, but rather to the fuller comprehension of its eternal verities. "In any case, to invite Christians to hold their belief in the absoluteness of Christianity with a loose hand on the merely logical chance that something better may turn up, nobody can tell what or when, rather recalls the eighteenth century projector who announced a Company, 'for an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed,' each subscriber to pay at once two guineas, and afterward to receive a share of a hundred, with a disclosure of the object." The three modern rivals of Christianity are Secularism, which rests on an agnostic basis; Judaism, which is an accredited failure, and Buddhism, whose pantheistic faith and ethical sterility advertise its limitations. Note how the argument is conducted in this section and how it throws light on the peculiar genius of the gospel.

The conviction that Christianity is absolute can be interpreted in two ways. It is absolutely final as to its presentation of the divine love, pardon, and fellowship in and through the personal experience of Jesus. But so far as the human reaction is concerned the Christian life can never attain final expression, owing to the unfathomable depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God. The failure to make this distinction is the cause of much confusion as to the imperial and exclusive claims of Christianity, first made by the early apostles and continued in successive generations by all who have appropriated the opulent deposit of faith which is an inexhaustible treasury of divine grace. The question of finality cannot be answered by theoretical argument, but by the far more convincing argument of Christian experience. It is, moreover, the experience not of an individual but of the community of Christians, whose testimony converges on the centrality, the completeness, and the primacy of Christ, the Eternal Son of the Everlasting Father. "The great certitude that Christianity is final belongs not to the sensible men, but to the martyrs—to all who are willing to spend and be spent to the utmost in a cause greater than life itself."

Our chief business then is to exhibit Christ in all the sublime glory of his character and the marvelous adequacy of His redeeming power to save unto the uttermost and to the end of all time. This book presents the argument in all its bearings on the evangelization and Christianization of the world. As such it is a timely discussion of the greatest help to every preacher.

SIDE READING

The Faith and the Fellowship. By Oscar L. Joseph (Hodder & Stoughton, $1.25). The first part deals with the essential message of Christianity and shows its superiority at every point to the faiths of the Orient.

The Reasonableness of the Christian Faith. By David S. Cairns (Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d.). Lecture IV on "The Finality and Absoluteness of the Christian Revelation" supplements the argument by Dr. Mackintosh.

The Faith of the New Testament. By Alexander Nairne (Longmans, Green, $2.25 net). An excellent summary of what is taught in the New Testament, with the conclusion that the faith once for all delivered cannot be transcended and yet is capable of indefinite development.

For information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the METHODIST REVIEW, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

The METHODIST REVIEW desires to give a fuller introduction of its contributors in each issue than is furnished by the table of contents.

EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN, Ph.D., is the successor to the late Borden P. Bowne, in the chair of philosophy in Boston University. It is interesting to note that most of our Methodist metaphysicians belong to the extreme right of the Neo-Kantian tendency in modern philosophy, being intensely personalistic in their attitude. This movement, now supreme in reflective thought, ranges from the personalism of Bowne, the activisim of Eucken, the humanism of F. C. S. Schiller, the vitalism of Bergson, the pragmatism of James, to the far left wing in the instrumentalism of Dewey. A. C. ARMSTRONG, Ph.D., another outstanding Methodist thinker and a frequent contributor to the REVIEW, is Professor of Philosophy in Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

The Rev. ROBERT LEONARD TUCKER, Ph.D., who as a minister makes a gallant plea for the layman, is a Methodist pastor in New Haven, Conn. The Rev. ARLO AYRES BROWN discusses religious education from the vantage ground of his office as superintendent of teacher training in the Board of Sunday Schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. HARRY PRESSFIELD, a Methodist pastor in Oakland, Cal., sees through the golden beauty of our American Italy, a vision of the Florentine poet, greatest of all time.

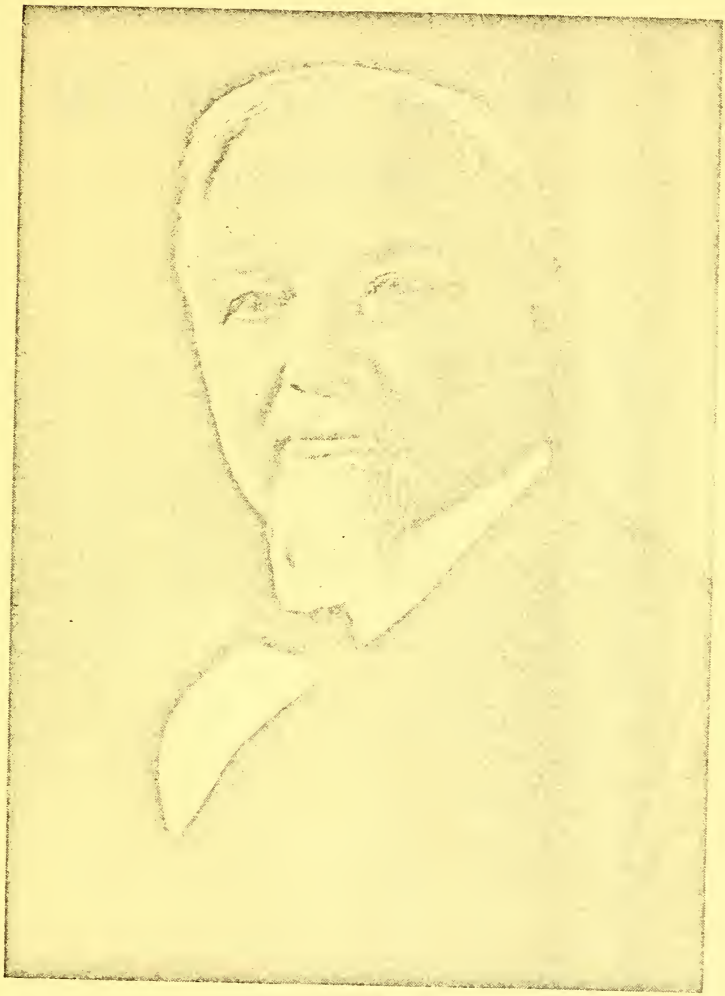
Dr. HENRY BURTON, a son-in-law of Mark Guy Pearse, is a well-known British Wesleyan preacher and writer, author of the beautiful volume on St. Luke in the Expositor's Bible, and other works.

The Rev. HAROLD PAUL SLOAN, D.D., Methodist pastor in Bridgeton, N. J., was the recognized leader of the conservative wing in the last General Conference. The Rev. WALLACE H. FINCH, who penetratingly finds the soul of the sermon in God himself, is himself a preacher in charge of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Stamford, Conn.

The Rev. WILLIAM L. STIDGER, D.D., who vividly analyzes the religious ballad by John Masefield, found with other great poetry in his recent volume, Enslaved, is the successful pastor of a great community church, the St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, Detroit, Mich.

In the editorial departments, the Biblical Study is contributed by the Rev. J. NEWTON DAVIES, A.M., a New Testament scholar of English Methodism, who has been rendering distinguished service as visiting professor from the mother country at Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. The Foreign Outlook contains two able notes from the pen of the Rev. Dr. JOHN R. VAN PELT, D.D., now pastor at Portsmouth, N. H., but for many years Professor of the English Bible in Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia.

The useful material in the Reading Course is supplied by the Rev. OSCAR L. JOSEPH, of Tottenville, Staten Island, N. Y. He is also author of a number of the book notices. Among the writers of literary reviews will be found also many other names of well-known Christian scholars, including Professors FAULKNER and THOMPSON of Drew Theological Seminary, Professor ISMAR J. PERITZ, the distinguished Semitic scholar of Syracuse University, and GEORGE A. SIMONS, missionary at Viborg, Finland, formerly of Petrograd, Russia.



HENRY ANSON BUTTZ

METHODIST REVIEW

MARCH, 1921

HENRY ANSON BUTTZ

EZRA SQUIER TIPPLE

President Drew Theological Seminary

WHEN John Henry Newman was asked to describe John Keble, the gentle rector of Eversley for thirty years, and the author of The Christian Year, he replied, "How shall I profess to paint a man who will not sit for his portrait?" It is difficult, however long or intimately one may have known him, to portray a man so self-effacing and so beautifully spiritual as was Henry Anson Buttz. Many of Doctor Buttz's students would probably be inclined to compare their beloved teacher with the English schoolmaster, Thomas Arnold, but he was more like Keble than Arnold, "who differed from Keble in almost every point." When Keble went from Oriel College, Oxford, to his first country parish there followed him several young men to be with him as pupils who forever marveled at the absence of personal ambition. The students of Henry A. Buttz were similarly impressed. His very evident disrelish for *place* in the life of the denomination, to which he gave absolute allegiance from the moment he was received into its fellowship, his unstudied indifference to ecclesiastical preferment amazed his pupils and other people as well.

Mr. Gladstone once said that during the time he had been Prime Minister he had been personally asked for every great office in the state, including the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Not only did Henry A. Buttz not seek office but he turned from it. When he was in Europe in 1892 he was elected editor of the METHODIST REVIEW, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. James W. Mendenhall, but declined the election. How many

of his old boys will recall a remark which he let fall occasionally, "I have never asked for an appointment, I have never sought a promotion," or this other word: "No one is so poorly cared for as he who starts out in the ministry to care for himself." His conception of Christian service, and the working theory of his own life, was based upon his Lord's words, "The Son of man is come not to be ministered unto, but to minister." And it *is* difficult to portray one who is so constantly going about doing good that he finds no time to sit for his picture!

I first saw Doctor Buttz in September, 1884. I carried with me when I left my home in Central New York to matriculate as a student at Drew, two letters addressed to the President of the Seminary. They are on the table before me as I write, Dr. Buttz having found them among his papers and given them to me a short time before his death. One of them is signed by "J. J. Brown, Professor of Physics and Chemistry" at Syracuse University, and the other by "C. W. Bennett" of the same university, where I had taken my college course. They both bear date of September 15, 1884, and were written by these two great teachers of a former generation to introduce a young student "full of hope, courage and work" to another great teacher's "favorable regard." I did not need letters of introduction to Henry Anson Buttz—no student who ever came to the Seminary of which he was the honored head for thirty-two years required any official passport to his interest and affection—but I cannot read the gracious, generous words of my old college professors, long since gathered to their fathers, without dimming eyes and an immeasurable feeling of gratitude.

Dr. Buttz at that time was in his fiftieth year, having been born at Middle Smithfield, Pa., April 18, 1835. He was tall, erect, with a kindly face, a friendly eye and jet black hair. He was the youngest of the five professors, affectionately spoken of by countless Drew students as "the great five," but he had been related to the institution for a longer period than any one of them.

Drew Theological Seminary was one of the fruits of the Centennial of American Methodism fittingly observed in 1866

by the authorization of the General Conference. The story of the beginning of Methodism in the United States and of its development during the first one hundred years is one of the romances of Christian history. The little one had become a thousand and the small one a great nation.

The formal opening of the seminary took place November 6, 1867, and my honored colleague, Dr. John Alfred Faulkner, has given it as his opinion that "it was one of the most important events in the history of our church in this country," in that it was the first time in the history of Methodism when a regular theological seminary as such was publicly proclaimed and adopted by our church, and adopted in a gathering uniquely representative. While similar schools had been begun previous to 1867, one at Concord, New Hampshire, and another at Evanston, Illinois, they had avoided the name "theological seminary," so great were the prejudice and pressure against using it. There is no need to give here the reasons for this prejudice, it is sufficient to call attention to the openly flaunted hostility of some, and the unspoken fears of many in the denomination as to theological seminaries *as such,* and to the very representative company of Methodist leaders who gathered at Madison, New Jersey, that November day a half century or more ago, at the launching of the new enterprise. In this company were all the bishops, all the book agents, all the missionary secretaries save one, most of the editors, and two hundred ministers representing twenty-four Conferences, and among these was a young pastor from a nearby village, Henry Anson Buttz. He had been appointed to Morristown in March of this same year, by Bishop Matthew Simpson, who was one of the speakers this beautiful November day. Dr. Buttz told me more than once of the profound impression which was made upon him by the exercises and addresses of that day. I like to think of this occasion as the beginning of his relations with the school in Drew Forest, which were to be terminated only by his death fifty-three years later, October 6, 1920, though it was not until some few weeks had passed that he was asked by the President of the Seminary to give instruction in the Greek Testament.

The first mention of the name of Dr. Buttz in the records of

the Board of Trustees, in which, after his election to the Presidency of the Seminary in 1880 it may be seen on almost every page, I find in the account of the meeting of May 18, 1870, in the fine handwriting of Mr. Charles C. North, the distinguished Methodist layman and father of Dr. Frank Mason North: "Reports were received from Dr. Foster, Dr. Strong, Rev. Mr. Buttz, Mr. J. H. Worman, Dr. Nadal." At a meeting two years before, however, April 23, 1868, "it was resolved that the Executive Committee be authorized to employ an additional tutor," and I incline to think that it was by this action of the trustees that Dr. Buttz entered upon his unique and in some respects unsurpassed career of teaching at Drew Theological Seminary.

Dr. Buttz had been preaching something more than ten years and had already come to distinction as an attractive and persuasive preacher. Nor was he without experience as a teacher, having been given oversight of a district school during his fifteenth year, and ever afterward was alternately learning and teaching to the end of his days. His district school teaching was entered upon that he might maintain himself while a student in Newton Academy and later at the Presbyterial Institute at Blairstown, New Jersey. He had begun his education in the village school at Middle Smithfield where he was born, and what was even more important to him, had been given special help and encouragement by the minister of the local Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Baker Johnson, of whose kindness, devotion, and patience in starting him along the road to real learning and high educational privileges Dr. Buttz always spoke in warmest appreciation and witnessed unto by a lifelong friendship. Later Dr. Buttz taught at Milton-on-Hudson in New York State, and within the bounds of the New York Conference, of which Dr. John Miley, a beloved colleague of Dr. Buttz for nearly a quarter of a century, was a member. On one occasion after he had become a member of the Drew Faculty, Dr. Miley went to Milton to lecture and returning to Madison reported that the people of this Hudson valley village "couldn't talk of anything or anybody except a young schoolmaster by the name of Buttz who had taught there some twenty-five years before." He taught also in a Young Woman's Institute

at Brainerd's Bridge, New York, and from there entered Union College, Schenectady, New York, in 1854. The following year, under stress of circumstances—God was preparing him by hardships for that ministry of understanding and sympathy with the theological students of every generation, perplexed and harassed by the ever-recurring "What shall we eat, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?"—he again took up teaching, but fell ill and could not return to college. However, he clung tenaciously to his purpose, kept up his studies under many difficulties and much discouragement, and in September, 1856, entered Princeton College (in April of this year he had begun preaching as Junior to the Reverend John W. Seran on the Vienna Circuit) as a member of the junior class, graduating among the first of his class in 1858.

The first session of the Newark Conference, after it had been set off from the New Jersey Conference, was held March 31, 1858, at Morristown, New Jersey, to which place nine years later one of the young preachers who united with the Conference at this session would be sent as pastor, and through this assignment find his distinctive life work. The Newark Conference class of 1858 had more than one man of promise in it. There were Solomon Parsons, John F. Dodd, William E. Blakeslee, and Alexander Craig, whose names and deeds were written large in the history of the Conference. There was Stephen L. Baldwin, born the same year as the subject of this sketch, twenty years a missionary in China, going there by appointment of Bishop Ames, this very year 1858, a teacher at Drew in 1871, and Recording Secretary of the Missionary Society at the time of his death in 1902. In this class, too, was John F. Hurst, preacher, teacher of church history, author, third president of Drew Seminary and Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the immediate predecessor in the administrative office of the Seminary of Henry A. Buttz.

Bishop Ames appointed the last named to Millstone, New Jersey, and while on that charge the young preacher took courses in theology at the Reformed Theological Seminary, New Brunswick. In 1859 Dr. Buttz served the church at Irvington; then was stationed at Woodbridge; Mariners' Harbor, Staten Island; Prospect Street, Paterson, and in 1867 at Morristown where he

remained three years, meanwhile teaching at Drew as instructor in Greek in 1867 and as adjunct professor of Greek and Hebrew in 1868-70.

The death of Dr. McClintock, March 6, 1870, left a vacancy not only in the presidency of the seminary, but in the Department of Practical Theology in which President McClintock had lectured. At the request of Acting President Bernard H. Nadal, who had been professor of historical theology from the opening of the school, Dr. Buttz gave instruction in practical theology, and was offered the chair. Some years ago he told me that when the trustees met in May, 1871, to fill the vacancy, after the meeting was over Bishop Janes said to him: "We would have elected you, if you had not said that you did not desire it," and the good man did not desire it. He was a Greek! True, he taught Hebrew, and was always interested in it, and even when near the end of the journey expressed the modest opinion that if required he could still teach it. But Greek was his life. He was wont to say that he dreamed in Greek. The New Testament to him was more than literature. St. Paul was more than a name. The Epistle to the Romans, or the Epistle to the Galatians, who of his students ever really understood those wonderful letters until he explained them? Who ever heard him read First Corinthians, 13 and 15, and give an exegesis of these incomparable chapters without a keener realization of their majesty and beauty and power, and without a real exaltation of soul? Dr. Buttz was never coldly academic in the classroom. I suspect that some of his students may sometimes have thought that he was hardly academic enough, that he was not sufficiently exacting in his pedagogical requirements or demands. We did not perhaps fear the results of examinations in his department as in some others. Now and then possibly someone would take advantage of his utter kindliness of spirit, but no one ever questioned the amplitude or accuracy of his scholarship, the richness of his spiritual insight and knowledge, the purity and strength of his love for the Book. One of his pupils, himself now a well-known teacher of preachers, bears this testimony: "Aside from that unfailing friendliness that was always glorifying him, I have one very vivid recollection of Dr. Buttz,

namely, as a teacher of the Greek New Testament. As he stood before us aflame with love and knowledge, he was a living example of the interest he sought to awaken. I have always had a different feeling for the New Testament since I knew how he loved it." Another of his students, likewise a teacher of the Bible and a Greek scholar of growing fame, wrote in a letter to me, "I thought of Browning's 'A Grammarian's Funeral,' when I heard of the death of Dr. Buttz."

But he was more than a grammarian. He was a "living epistle," a radiant Gospel, a bond servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle. His teaching was not confined to the classroom. His mightiest teaching was not done in the classroom. In his walks on the Campus, the very ground on which he had stepped seemed to have been made sacred—

> "The place seem'd fresh—and bright and lately trod,
> A long path show'd where Enoch walk'd with God."

When he prayed in the morning chapel service, quietly, simply, expectantly, we all became conscious of the presence of God. Wherever we saw him or heard him, in the classroom or elsewhere, it was easy to believe that having seen him we had seen the Father. "I can talk with men about God," a man once remarked, "but I find it very difficult to introduce men to God." Yet this was what Henry A. Buttz was always doing—and without effort, and without consciousness. This is the tribute which all his sons in the Gospel and his colleagues of the faculty pay him: "Among all the teachers that I have ever had," writes a Drew missionary in India, "and I think among all the men that I have ever met, there has been no one who by his daily life has so deeply impressed me with the fact that here is a man who day after day lives up to the Methodist idea of holiness."

One of his beloved colleagues, Dr. Robert W. Rogers, at a gathering of students fully twenty years ago, referred to him as "a holy man who does not know it," and this was literally true. The largest asset of Henry A. Buttz as a teacher was his superlative goodness. Some years ago when a young man in a Western city was trying to decide which theological school to attend, his

father said, "I would rather have you go to Drew than anywhere because Henry A. Buttz is there."

Nor did his influence end when men graduated. The memory of his goodness was a daily spur to courtesy and service. It was impossible to escape the conviction that he was affectionately interested in all that we were doing, and especially in what we were! How the light of his benignant face stimulated us to greater zeal and a more persistent devotion! How his haunting eyes troubled us when we came short of our best. When Frederick Arnold was writing the life of F. W. Robertson, the English preacher-prophet, he went to Brighton for the purpose of collecting material. While there he stepped into a bookseller's shop and found that the old bookman had a portrait of Robertson in his parlor. "Do you see that picture?" he said. "Whenever I am tempted to be mean, I run into this back parlor and look at it; then, whenever I feel afraid of meeting difficulty, I come and look into his eyes, and they put new force into me." Many a Drew man, who has had the picture of the "good Master" hanging on his study wall from the day when under the trees of the Forest he blessed him and sent him forth to proclaim the Evangel, could bear a similar testimony.

There have been three distinct periods in the history of Drew Seminary; the first somewhat more sharply defined than the others, 1867-1880, during which there were three presidents, John McClintock, Randolph S. Foster, and John F. Hurst; the second covering in general the years when the Faculty consisted of James Strong (1868-1893), John Miley (1873-1895), George R. Crooks (1881-1895), and Henry Anson Buttz; the third, the more recent years. The one name which binds these three periods together is that of Dr. Buttz, and it always seemed to us that through him we reached into the even more distant past of American Methodism, for at the opening of the seminary that November day, 1867, when Doctor Buttz may have caught a vision of the Divine Will for his life, there was present a venerable preacher, the Reverend Henry Boehm, then in his 93rd year, Bishop Asbury's traveling companion along many a rough and wearisome road, in many States, and the sharer of his hardships and trials during

many years, who, as he sat upon the platform, and later in the day when he spoke, bound Drew Seminary with Asbury and that most heroic period of American Christianity. That noble hymn, "Faith of Our Fathers," is never sung by the men of Drew without a quickening of the pulse, a kindling of the emotions and a deepening sense of its significance.

At the General Conference of 1880 President John F. Hurst was elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In December of that year the trustees of Drew Seminary met in Madison to elect his successor. There was a large attendance including Bishop Simpson, who presided, Bishop William L. Harris, who made the prayer, and the recently elected Bishop Hurst, together with a notable group of laymen and ministers.

Before proceeding to the selection of Bishop Hurst's successor, the vacancy in the chair of practical theology caused by the resignation of Dr. Daniel P. Kidder was filled by the election of Dr. Samuel F. Upham, after which Dr. James M. Buckley moved, "that the Board proceed to elect a President of the Faculty." Of the thirty-three votes cast, Dr. Henry A. Buttz received twenty, and Dr. George R. Crooks, professor of historical theology, twelve. The election was made unanimous and a little later Dr. Buttz was presented to the Board, gravely accepted the responsibility, and entered upon his long and notable administration, covering an entire generation, 1880-1912, a longer period than the total years of administration of the four other presidents of Drew Seminary.

Dr. Buttz was not primarily an administrator. His tastes and training were along other lines. He was in no modern sense a "financier," neither had he genius for organization. His early studies were not the financial pages of metropolitan dailies, and he had no skill as a money maker. Yet how zealously and with what splendid courage he entered upon the work for which he had been designated! He was not without experience in raising funds for the seminary, for in the dark days following the complete loss of the fortune of Daniel Drew, and the consequent loss of the promised endowment of the seminary, which had not yet been paid over to the trustees, Dr. Buttz spared not himself, but labored side by side with President Hurst, going every whither

seeking funds, returning home late at night, teaching by day, and giving self-sacrificial assistance in creating a new endowment. The dire catastrophe of 1875-6 prepared Dr. Buttz in no small measure for the administrative duties which he assumed in 1880. From the first he showed rare skill in interesting friends in the seminary. His methods were never spectacular, seldom perceived even. This was largely due to the man himself rather than to a carefully worked out scheme of procedure.

One of his "boys," now a very successful college president, says that in a consultation as to the best method of financing an educational institution, Dr. Buttz told him that his plan was to tie up a few strong friends to the seminary who would be ready to give of their means, and to put enough of their lives into it to feel that it was their own child; that this was much less difficult than going to the multitude, and was the only way in which he could find sufficient time to meet the demands of the classroom as well as those of the administrative office. From my personal knowledge I know this to be exactly the case. It is unfortunate that there seemed to be no alternative. Theological schools in America have had all too few interested and contributing friends. In the British Wesleyan Conference every church is required to take two collections every year for theological education. In Australia the denomination makes abundant financial provision for ministerial training. Some ecclesiastical bodies in the United States give annual aid to their theological schools, but as yet Methodism has done comparatively nothing, save as here and there some individual has become interested through the personal efforts of a Dr. Buttz. How admirable the "plan" which necessity compelled Dr. Buttz to adopt, the record of the achievements of his administration will disclose! What friends he made for his school! What generous benefactions he obtained!

After his death the editor of one of our official church papers, an honored alumnus of Drew, gave to his editorial announcement of the death of Dr. Buttz the significant and expressive title, "A Man Who Was an Institution." The fine appositeness and discriminating exactness of this characterization are best appreciated by those longest associated with Dr. Buttz in the fellowship of

teaching and service at Drew. For three decades he planned and prayed and toiled unceasingly and achieved. The Cornell Library was opened in 1888, the first of several buildings built during his administration, and how beyond his early dreams it has grown! What splendid private collections have been given to it! The hope of Dr. McClintock, voiced on the opening day in 1867, that the seminary might be a historic center, and that in its library might be found much relating to the early history of Methodism, was more than realized during the presidency of Dr. Buttz. Originally built to hold forty-three thousand volumes, Dr. Buttz saw accessions by the tens and hundreds and thousands, until at the close of his administration the library was perhaps the largest among the educational institutions of the denomination, numbering 130,000 volumes.

Before the Cornell Library was completed, I find that he was telling his trustees of the urgent need of a new dormitory building, and this prospect having been authorized he soon found two great-hearted laymen, William Hoyt and Samuel W. Bowne, who expressed their willingness to give the building, and straightway Hoyt-Bowne Hall was erected at a cost of $105,000, and formally opened to students in October, 1894, at which time Bishop Hurst delivered a memorable address on "The Romance of Drew" in which, after speaking of the great beauty of the new edifice, he said: "But there is a finer hall than this. An unskilled human being, without culture of mind or voice, called to the great work of the ministry, and with little else than a call, with few friends and no money for an education, not fit for the humblest pulpit in the land, and not daring to turn his back upon the greatest, sitting day after day at the feet of wise men, then after the 'three years in training' going out upon the great field of the wide world, to whom no zone has its rigors of cold or heat, no ocean its tempests, no language its limitations, and no idolater too low for its ministrations—that belongs to a higher architecture than ever floated in the mind of Wren when he reared Saint Paul's Cathedral, or of Michael Angelo when he poised Saint Peter's dome in mid air."

It was his profound conviction of the truth of this, his beauti-

ful sensitiveness to the holy privileges of this "higher architecture," I am persuaded, which made Drew seem so attractive to Dr. Buttz. He never spoke of it save with glowing lips. He seemed never to desire anything else. Doors were swung open to him but he would not enter. Other educational institutions, of wider fields of usefulness, at least of larger size, coveted him, but he would not listen.

About eighteen months after the opening of Hoyt-Bowne Hall, the General Conference met in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Buttz was a delegate, leading the Newark Conference delegation as he had in 1884 and 1892, and as he did in 1900, 1904, and 1908—the other General Conferences of which he was a member, 1888, when James N. FitzGerald was a candidate for the episcopacy and was elected, and 1912, being second in the delegation. For a number of years there had been a growing sentiment for his election to the episcopacy, though not with his encouragement or approval. In 1888 at the General Conference in New York he received 115 votes on the first ballot. The General Conference of 1892 voted not to add to the number of bishops, and four years later there was a strong feeling against electing any new bishops, but the Committee on Episcopacy recommended "that the Board of Bishops be strengthened by the election of three general Superintendents." This report was amended on a motion offered by Dr. Charles J. Little substituting "two" for "three" and thereafter adopted.

On the first ballot Dr. Buttz received 72 votes out of 521 cast, and was fifth in the list; on the second 96, on the third 153, on the fourth 233, on the fifth 266, which was more than a majority. Moreover, on this ballot he was leading all the others. The sixth ballot showed an increase to 291, lacking only 48 votes of the two thirds required for an election. The next ballot disclosed a slight falling off in Dr. Buttz's vote, and he is said to have remarked to Mrs. Buttz, "It is going our way now." It was not until the fifteenth ballot, however, that there was an election, Chaplain McCabe being chosen on that ballot, and Bishop Cranston on the sixteenth. Bishop Bristol, in his Life of Chaplain McCabe, gives expression to this conviction: "But for the two-

thirds rule it may be doubted whether Chaplain McCabe would have been elected. If under a majority rule the ballots had been cast as they were cast, Dr. Henry A. Buttz would have been elected on the fifth ballot. Only one other possible result of this election of bishops at the Cleveland General Conference would have given the church greater satisfaction than did the election of Chaplain McCabe and Dr. Cranston, and that would have been the election of three bishops, as the original report of the Committee on Episcopacy contemplated, and one of the three had been that eminent scholar and educator, Dr. Henry A. Buttz." That his election would have been gratifying to multitudes in the church is beyond question, and he surely would have adorned the high office and maintained its traditions of leadership and influence. But I have never felt that he desired it. The impression was very general at Cleveland while the balloting was in progress not only that he was unconcerned, but that he was indifferent.

Dr. Buttz was not a communicative man. He seldom spoke of himself, and he almost never allowed himself to be betrayed into any reference to personal matters; but in these latest years, for reasons which were obvious to members of the family circle, I would now and again venture, just as I did with my own father when he was fourscore, to tease him about the "reasons" urged against him by overzealous friends of other men who were being voted for at Cleveland. "Yes," he would say with a quizzical smile, "Yes, they did say that I used tobacco," and then he would add, "Well, perhaps I did, and didn't know it." While he probably would have regarded an election as a command of the church to serve in another field, he said at Cleveland, while the balloting was going on, that if by chance he should be chosen he could not accept until he had consulted with the trustees of Drew, and as he came up the steps of the president's house on the Campus on his return from Cleveland, about the first words he uttered were: "I never was happier in my life than I was when my vote for the episcopacy began to go down," and he meant what he said. His love for Drew burned incandescent and undimmed to the very end of his days.

In the immediate years following the Cleveland experience,

another noble building rose on the campus known as the Administration Building and Chapel, the gift of two unfailingly generous trustees. Ten years later the Bowne Gymnasium was erected, and the Samuel W. Bowne Hall was provided for through a bequest of the donor, who died the year his gymnasium was completed, though this latter building, a copy of Christ Church Hall, Oxford, was not begun until after Dr. Buttz had resigned the presidency.

But as I have said with regard to his teaching, Dr. Buttz's largest value to Drew Seminary was not in the friends he made for the school or the buildings or endowment he obtained. It was himself, his personality, his life. Henry A. Buttz was a great man, a great Christian. He had surpassing qualities of goodness and power, but of all the men I have ever known, or of whom I have ever written, his personality is most difficult of analysis. The very simplicity of it, like the preaching of John Hall, and indeed of his own preaching, defies description. He was one of the most unselfish men I have ever known, and as unaffectedly humble as Rowland Hill, who, as the shadows thickened at the last, was heard to murmur, "I shall creep into heaven through some crevice in the door." He was as saintly as John Fletcher and, like him, "wist not that his face did shine." One of his most brilliant preacher-sons sums up his estimate of his teacher-friend in the pregnant sentence: "He had the brains of a man, the heart of a woman, and the soul of a child."

Dr. Buttz's interest in people was constant and unalloyed. His love for men was prodigious. Three thousand students have felt its power and contagion. The timid in his presence became at ease, the weak were conscious of new strength, the transgressor went from his office uncondemned, and resolved to sin no more. His belief in men was even more marked than was Charles Kingsley's. He was a member of numerous boards and other church organizations, and faithful in his attendance, though his voice was seldom heard in debate. He travelled widely, was a lover of nature, and had a deep appreciation of the beautiful, which to many doubtless seemed lacking. He was genial, good-tempered, never dogmatic, broad-minded and tolerant, yet a man

of strong convictions. Trust was a habit with him; he kept faith with children and everybody else. Without jealousy, deeply sympathetic with those in sorrow, devotedly faithful in his friendships, he was in constant demand for funeral occasions. And—is not this significant?—he was often counsel for the defendant in Conference trials, but never for the Church.

He was always lenient with weak, erring, handicapped people, and charitable in his judgments. His charity was measureless. He never wounded. On the contrary, he healed, encouraged, radiated cheer and sympathy. He was urbane without obsequiousness, gentle without effeminacy, when necessary firm yet without harshness, benign, just, lavish of hospitality, unfailingly courteous. He was patient, uncomplaining, having the love that beareth all things, endureth all things. I have been unable to find my classroom notes of his exposition of First Corinthians. I presume I took notes, but I have never felt it necessary to refer to them. He himself was the best exegesis of the thirteenth chapter I have ever known.

And never was he more gloriously Christlike than during the last years of his beautiful life. Dr. Buttz laid down his presidential burdens in 1912, but continued to teach his beloved New Testament six years longer, resigning his professorship in 1918, after fifty years of teaching. When James Russell Lowell visited Birmingham in 1884 to give an address on Democracy he called by appointment on Cardinal Newman, then in his 83rd year, and later he wrote to a friend, "A more gracious senescence I never saw. There was no 'monumental pomp,' but a serene decay, like that of some ruined abbey in a woodland dell."

When Dr. Buttz retired he seemed in good health, but it was evident that the fires were burning low. He attended the commencement exercises, but would not yield to my request that he make the prayer on that occasion. He did, however, give the benediction, but in a tone so low as to be scarcely heard. Yet his outstretched hands were enough. "The peace of God" came upon the people. This was the last time his wonderful voice, soft and full of music, yet penetrating and clear, was heard in the halls of his beloved school. When he left the chapel that day, his long

day's work done, and well done, he did not enter it again until two years later when his body was tenderly borne on the strong shoulders of his "boys" from his home, through the seminary entrance, under the arching trees of the campus and laid before the altar where so many, many times he had lifted holy hands, and prayed until the gates of the celestial city swung wide open.

Of the quiet months of waiting for the coming of the chariot much might be written, for, like Elisha, I was reluctant to be long away from him, but this is not the place. I think I never saw him that he did not seek to persuade me that he was my debtor, and the very last time that I sat by his bedside he persisted in thanking me for my kindnesses, for all I had done for him! Ah, what I had ever with such gladness of heart done for him was as the small dust of the balance compared with his goodness to me and to all his sons in Christ Jesus. How many of us since his going have been unspeakably grateful for Matthew Arnold's tribute to his schoolmaster father:

"Thou would'st not *alone*
Be saved, my father! *alone*
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild.
We were weary, and we
Fearful, and we in our march
Fain to drop down and to die.
Still thou turnedst, and still
Beckonedst the trembler, and still
Gave the weary thy hand.

"If, in the paths of the world,
Stones might have wounded thy feet,
Toil or dejection have tried
Thy spirit, of that we saw
Nothing—to us thou wast still
Cheerful, and helpful, and firm!
Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself;
And, at the end of the day,
O faithful shepherd! to come
Bringing thy sheep in thy hand."

It is said that the famous writer of this beautiful sonnet regarded Isaac Watts's "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross" as

the finest hymn in the English language. Just a little before his sudden death he was heard repeating the third stanza,.

> "See, from his head, his hands, his feet,
> Sorrow and love flow mingled down:
> Did e'er such love and sorrow meet,
> Or thorns compose so rich a crown?"

The whole life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, "Except a grain of corn fall in the earth and die, it abideth alone," "he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it," are all in that stanza. No man I have ever known so completely and so joyously lived the sacrificial life, after the pattern and manner of Jesus, as Henry Anson Buttz.

A POTENTIAL LUTHER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY[1]

A. W. Nagler
Garrett Biblical Institute.

In the sixteenth century western Europe was ripe for a religious revolution. Reactionary forces frantically sought to stem the slowly onrushing tide of an increasing popular protest, but their repressive measures merely augmented the spirit of revolt. When the Prophet appeared the unescapable happened, the bisection of Catholicism and the birth of a new era. Since many of the conditions conducive to reform already obtained a century earlier we wonder why no Luther arose at the time to emancipate the individual from the toils of a grasping, insatiable institution. For amid much economic unrest, political confusion, spiritual hunger, exploitation of the many by the few, papal abuse and ecclesiastical malpractice, outstanding churchmen were recommending drastic reforms while the common people were yearning for better and freer conditions of life. Why did the great reform lag for a century? With numerous diverging currents of thought tending toward the common objective, "reformation in head and members," with masterful leaders of men emphasizing its urgency with compelling power, why did the attempts at reform so signally fail? Did the Prophet fail to appear? One among the leaders seemed to be the man of the hour. He appeared capable of galvanizing the vague, fitful, and often conflicting protests into a mighty dynamic of purgation. Nicholas of Cusa might have been a real, not merely potential, Luther of the fifteenth century.

Again, it is an interesting matter of historical speculation to inquire why more prominent churchmen failed to go the way of Luther, even Staupitz, who was instrumental in turning Luther

[1] The bibliography on Nicholas von Cusa (Cues) is extensive, chiefly in the German language. The best authorities are: Der deutsche Cardinal Nicholas von Cusa und die Kirche seiner Zeit, by J. M. Düx, 2 vol. Regensburg, 1847; and Der Cardinal u. Bishof Nicholas von Cusa als Reformator in Kirche; Reich und Philosophie, by F. A. Scharpff, Tuebingen, 1871. Of Cusa's own works, of which the majority are extant in various Latin editions, the present writer employed the 2d edition in two large folios, Paris, 1514, together with other treatises and letters.

toward the light, refusing to follow him; why Fénélon, while standing before his congregation, his inmost soul rebelling, nevertheless retracted in abject submission to the Pope's mandate; why the lone Jansenist Church in Holland continues to send each newly elected Pope a congratulatory message, only to receive in return as regularly a bull of excommunication; why every bishop, however opposed to the dogma of infallibility of 1870, finally submitted, among them the erudite Hefele, the indomitable Strossmayer, the mystic Newman; and finally, why the Modernists persist in remaining in the communion of that church which stands officially on the platform of the Syllabus of 1864? It may seem futile to seek an answer to these queries, but a possible solution may be obtained from a study of the psychological processes through which Cusa passed when he was confronted with the "Either-Or" of his ecclesiastical career.

The life of this representative churchman of the fifteenth century, for instance, may stand as a type of that vast multitude in the Church of Rome who believe that submission to the papacy is the first essential, that organic church unity is the greatest desideratum; consequently that schism is the deadliest crime, the supreme heresy. Besides, in him we have also one of a number of becoming prophets, of potential reformers before the Protestant Reformation, men who seemed to see a great light, who reached out haltingly and blindly for the truth, only to have their dreams and aspirations shattered on the rock of the primacy of the Pope. At the crucial moment Cusa hesitated, faltered, and stopped where Luther, with sublime courage, crossed the Rubicon. Although more learned than the latter in the technical academic sense, and perhaps as highly endowed with moral courage, the fifteenth century reformer, nevertheless, refused to take the daringly venturesome leap of faith into an unknown future when the opportunity to do so presented itself to him. Standing at the parting of the ways he chose the safer, the traditional path. The overwhelming sentiment of the hoary past, the authority of the one holy Catholic Church caused him to decide for the things that are as against the things that might be. Such action appeared too revolutionary to this ecclesiastic bound up in the vast rigid

church system. And here we find much food for thought. Is it ever advisable to take a stand against the things that are for the sake of a hope that the things that might be will usher in a brighter, better day? The fear of change, a feeling that the disturbance attending the change would destroy more than it possibly could create, caused the becoming radical to back-step into an ultra-conservative. After the door was closed in the face of a waiting opportunity there came into the life of the promising man the despair of a fanatical melancholia and the emotions of a fierce reactionary spirit.

I—The Church, the Papacy, and the Reform Movement in the Early Fifteenth Century

The opening of the fifteenth century saw papal prestige at low ebb. The Babylonian Captivity, followed by the Great Schism, had given the world a century's dose of wickedness in high ecclesiastical circles. But, however corrupt the Curia, whether at Rome or at Avignon, the traditional attitude of the time pronounced the violation of the fundamental doctrine of church unity by far the greater evil. Because Europe was presented with the spectacle of two spiritual heads of a supposedly united church, the question naturally arose where the true seat of the church was to be found. The idea of unity was so strong that the leading spirits of the age felt the situation to be intolerable. Again, it was a question not merely of a remedy, a general spiritual panacea, but it was a question as to who was to administer the dreaded medicament. Thus, the problem of diagnosis and medicine was not so difficult for the time being as the choice of the doctor. Because the papacy, the family physician, had utterly failed, the notion began to dawn in the minds of many upstanding churchmen that nothing less drastic than a General Council was able to cope with the fatal malady that was eating like gangrene into the very vitals of the church. Consequently, as an outcome of the cry for reform that was gaining momentum from year to year we have the conciliar movement.

The idea that the papacy was the source of all religious authority, that the Curia embodied within itself the whole church, had

received such telling blows for decades that its force had perceptibly weakened. The opposite idea, based upon the Nominalistic philosophy of Occam and his followers, and influenced by the epoch making work, Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua, gained ground to a corresponding degree. According to this view the church was not a divine abstraction existing apart from men, so that had there been no men there would yet have been a church. Neither was the papacy regarded as the supreme earthly expression of this imagined celestial institution. Instead, it sponsored the theory, rank heresy for the day, that the church, though manifestly of divine origin and under the spiritual guidance of providence, was essentially an institution here on earth consisting of the mass of individuals who composed it. Those who were grounded in this nominalistic approach to the problem were driven irresistibly to the conclusion that the seat of authority was to be found, not in the papacy, but in the whole church, or in a General Council consisting of the representatives of its members.

The Council of Pisa offers an illustration. It awakened the church to a consciousness of its own existence in the realization that it had the inherent right to remedy evils. And Constance is forever memorable for establishing the doctrine that the General Council was above the Pope; that the latter was to regard himself, not as the autocratic ruler, but as the servant of the church. To this doctrine Dollinger later made his effective appeal when launching his powerful anti-infallibility movement.

To people living at the time it must have seemed like an age of transition. Old landmarks on the political and ecclesiastical landscape were being defaced. Well-established institutions were being undermined. Ideas and ideals were in a state of flux. In this regard it resembled our present troubled age. Contradictory notions sometimes found congenial lodgment in the mind of one individual. Many still believed in the supremacy of the Pope without relinquishing their faith in the righteousness of the conciliar movement, just as some individuals in the twentieth century find it possible to preach democracy and uphold undemocratic practices. In the mediæval period some even found the polar extremes of papal primacy and conciliar supremacy

perfectly compatible. In this strange period of innovation and uncertainty Nicholas of Cusa was born.

II—Sketch of Cusa's Life

Born in 1401 in Cues (Cusa) on the Moselle, he left home as a lad by the run-away method, entering a school of the Brethren of the Common Life. The practical mysticism emphasized by this school at Deventer left an indelible impression upon the boy. An equally powerful humanistic influence came later through the University of Padua, where the promising young student received the doctor's degree in civil law. Here he became acquainted with the famous Cæsarini, with whom he formed a life-long friendship. Presumably because he lost his first case in the practice of law, thus Heimburg his enemy contends, Cusa took holy orders. In this new field of activity he immediately distinguished himself by his prophetic messages, not even sparing high ecclesiastical offenders. He mourns the fact that the church had never seen such sorry days, and implores God to direct those who had assembled at Basel. At this time he had already commenced his notable work, De Concordantia Catholica, published later in three books. In the attempt to develop his thought in a scientific and historical manner it is of significance to note that he forsook the prevalent scholastic methods. Indeed, there is a tendency in him which suggests the Renaissance spirit, exemplified in his love of nature and in the emphasis which he placed upon the intrinsic value of this world. Giordano Bruno did not hesitate in calling him his forerunner. An approach to the modern spirit also is shown in Cusa's claim that all religious faiths would find in Christianity their own highest and best. And in his astronomical calculations he was Copernican, not Ptolemaic. His position at this stage is revealed in the attempt to justify the extreme actions which Basel at first deemed necessary to take in declaring its own supremacy over the Pope. And we might add, had Basel succeeded the Vicar of Christ would have been reduced to the position of the first official of a Constitutional Assembly. The Pope of the time did yield in his acknowledgment of Basel as ecumenical in 1433. In palliation of this enforced obedience the papal adherents contend

that only the council, not its decrees, was approved, whatever that may mean. Besides, it is claimed, the papal legates were not present when the decree of conciliar authority was passed.

At the council the ecclesiastical atmosphere rapidly changed. The air became charged with radicalism. The extreme left became the majority and in its steam-roller application of a newly acquired power dethroned the masterful Cæsarini from his position of director general of affairs. So much confusion resulted that Aneas Sylvius (later Pius II) compared the sessions to the brawls common to wine rooms. The two contending factions made a disgraceful attempt to seize the altar of the cathedral in order to give validity to their decrees. The minority, hopelessly outnumbered, bolted the conference and left in disgust. This was in 1436, and Cusa was among the irreconcilables. Just as stanchly as he had previously upheld the conciliar point of view, he now championed the papal cause. Indeed, his zeal and ardor in behalf of Pope Eugene caused Aneas Sylvius to call him the Hercules of the Eugenianists. Opportunities for proving his allegiance were not wanting to the scholarly statesman. As legate, bishop, and cardinal, at home and abroad, he boldly and efficiently represented the Curialists. In practical religious reform he did accomplish that which cannot be ignored, though some might censure him because he regarded the upholding of hierarchical pretensions as the essential basis of all true moral-religious progress. Pastor states (History of the Popes, II, p. 123, note 3) that most of the monasteries and convents reformed by Cusa "stood firm" in the religious strife of the following century. In his own diocese of Brixen he was only partially successful, being involved in a bitter controversy with Duke Sigmund of Austria. However, his general plan of reformation, though inadequate as the following century proved, did credit to the man's heart. In brief, it involved the designation of the Pope as head of the propaganda. From this central sun the rays of light, truth, and reform were to radiate in all directions. New life was to be infused into the provincial councils in order that through them the abuses in their respective territories might be corrected. Preaching in the vernacular was to be emphasized. Here Cusa set a good example by

preaching in the language that his parishioners could easily understand. Finally, he urged that the priests must feel themselves under the deepest obligation to set an example by living lives of holiness and purity.

As we near the close of his life and note the establishment of a hospital, to which he willed his library, and the founding of a "bursa Cusani" at Deventer for the use of poor students, we might join in the words of Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim: "Cusa was an angel of light appearing to the fatherland. He restored the unity of the church and the dignity of her head. His mind embraced the whole realm of knowledge" (Camb. Modern Hist., I, p. 632). History might slightly change these words of eulogy in the following paraphrase. Cusa was one of the great intellectual lights of his fatherland. His exertions in behalf of church unity were tremendous. His championship of the papacy was unsurpassed by any of his day. His mind was keen, his accomplishments in various realms of knowledge remarkable for a man of his day.

III—The Dilemma: Papal Primacy or Conciliar Supremacy?

The great dilemma which Cusa faced, an issue tantamount to that which Luther faced, and with the substitution of different words similar to that which we face to-day, was the choice between autocracy as embodied in the papacy, and democracy, or at least representative government, as associated with the General Council. In his dramatic attack upon the ecclesiastical absolutism of the Pope, voiced in his courageous appeal to the German people, Luther chose the least trodden path and the more dangerous one. This step lifted a cloud that had been obstructing men's vision of a brighter, more democratic vista. Cusa, on the other hand, turned back from the promised land, placing his life and talents in the service of the past. To the attainment of greater certitude on the issues involved we shall consider first the statements which emphasize conciliar authority, then glance at those writings which uphold the primacy of the Pope. After a brief comparison of the two sets which might include such considerations as time, emphasis, motive, we shall be in a better position to pass judgment on the problem which Cusa presents.

1. Conciliar Authority.

The conciliar leanings of the man are most elaborately expressed in the monumental work, De Concordantia Catholica. The author's critical spirit is revealed in the doubt that he raises in Book I as to the genuineness of the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals. In a brief comparison between the Curia and the Church Universal he contends that infallibility is better ascribed to the latter than to the former. In the same sentence that he acknowledges the infallibility of the Cathedra Petri he includes a complaint that the Catholic Church had dwindled down into a Roman patriarchate. It is to the Universal Church that we must look for the greater authority and the greater security of faith. The supremacy of the General Council is so emphatically stressed in the second book that Hefele is led to remark that the author's sincerity, zeal, and irresistible logic together constituted a potent factor in the diffusion of the conciliar doctrines promulgated at Constance. The argument runs something like this. Although the Roman bishop was the head of the church, though General Councils could not be held without him, it was, nevertheless, possible for a General Council to promulgate canons without the presence of his Holiness provided conditions in the church demanded such action. Since infallibility, strictly interpreted, is promised to no single individual but to the whole church, the General Council, because more truly representative, overtops the authority of the Pope. In support of this argument the famous "Rock passage" is interpreted in a figurative sense (*figura petrae*), the true *petra* being the church. And besides Peter represents the church only *"unice et confusissime."* This sounds like Cusa speaking through the mouth of Luther. The conclusion is then drawn by the liberal truth-seeking investigator that the canons of General Councils must be more authoritative than those issued by the Pope. As a matter of fact the General Council may become the Pope's judge to the extent of deposing and excommunicating him.

In a short treatise recently found among the manuscripts of the University of Wurzburg (printed in Düx, I, p. 475ff.), further evidence is furnished in corroboration of his view. Were the Pope's presidency at the council more than a mere directive

agency it would include the power of coercion, which is contrary to the essential form of the council, nullifying as it does its freedom of discussion (*libertas in consultando*). Over the dispersed church the author allows the Pope a directive jurisdiction unpredicable of him as to the assembled church, for, runs the argument, how could he who is under the guidance and penal jurisdiction of an assembly also be considered its directive head? We cannot omit an interesting interpretation of the Scripture passage containing the story of the strife for the chief seats in the new Kingdom, for it would do justice to the reasoning of a modern Protestant. Cusa begins his exegesis with the assertion that Christ did not say to Peter: "I appoint you as my vicar, and the rest of you are to obey him," because he had no desire of giving to Peter or any of his successors any inducement to lord it over the church. Significantly he adds, as we unfortunately see it as present (*sicut proh dolor nunc videmus*). Neither do we find Peter assuming unto himself any special jurisdiction or power, but all things were defined and commanded in the name of the council (Acts 15). The argument reaches its climax in the contention that present popes could not assume authority greater than that originally possessed by the prince of the apostles. At the council the true, invisible, perfect, unerring "*presidens*" is the Holy Spirit. And we must keep in mind that the idea here expressed is far removed from the caustic thrust of a hostile pen made in reference to the Pope's domination of a recent council of the Roman Catholic Church, for to the papalist claim of divine guidance the rejoinder came that the Holy Spirit was sent daily by the Pope in a dispatch box. The farthest reach of Cusa's concession at this stage would thus make the Pope the organ of the council, the mouth of the Holy Spirit through which that council proclaimed its general decrees.

2. Papal Supremacy.

With no more evidence at our command we would be forced to conclude that Cusa was a stanch though moderate conciliar adherent, somewhat of the Gerson type. Such he was in the early part of the third decade. Sad experiences with a rampant radical-

ism caused him to see the inconsistencies underlying his ideas of conciliar supremacy when compared with the Catholic doctrine of the primacy of Peter. The gradual inner change tending toward traditionalism manifested itself when Basel threatened a schism, a consummation especially abhorrent to the "safe and sane" ecclesiastical statesman. Foreshadowing the change are the remarks addressed in a letter to the Bohemians in which his ratiocination approaches the subtlety of the old scholastic dialect. Apropos of the question whether infallibility resides inherently in the Sedes Romana or whether it is given to this Cathedra by the church, Cusa avers that infallibility results from the interchanging adherence of church and Cathedra (Curia), just as a human being results from the union of body and soul. The church must be obeyed, thus to the recalcitrant Hussites, even though her commands happen to be based upon false assumptions but regarded as true by the church.

In a speech delivered soon after at the Diet of Frankfurt he unburdens his soul. The Curialist has triumphed over the Conciliarist. Badly contradicting some of his previous utterances the passionate convert proclaims that a true Pope must be obeyed under all circumstances. God alone, not the General Council, is the Pope's judge. The Council of Constance, it is true, asserted its superiority over the Pope, but that was merely the adoption of a lesser evil to ward off a greater evil, that is, schism. Infallibility can be better predicted of the Pope than of the council because Christ prayed especially for Peter.

Evidence taken from one more source will suffice to indicate the transformation that is now well-nigh complete. In a lengthy letter sent to a certain Roderick, ambassador of the King of Spain to the Court of Frederick III, Cusa develops in his usual speculative manner the idea of the true church. Following Aquinas he declared that the visible church must have a visible head in whom the whole church is found in essence. We find him writing in the atmosphere of feudalistic notions of absolutism in the statement that the sovereignty of Peter in its own sphere must be absolute since in him the church itself is comprised. Since no sovereign can be judged by his subjects, that action which seeks

to bring the sacred person of a Prince to trial must be branded as criminal. But suppose that "sacred" Prince, at the head of the church, issues a command destructive of the highest interests of the church? Cusa's logic wavers. His heart allegiance seeks to control and guide his ratiocination. In doubtful cases, indeed, obedience to the head takes precedence, otherwise schism would result (*schisma diabolicum inexcusabile crimen existet*). As a matter of fact the Cathedra Petri cannot be the source of destruction. To this lame conclusion we feel like adding that famous phrase of Saint Augustine's which can so easily be used in a perverted sense—*Causa finita est, Roma locuta est* (The case is ended, Rome has spoken).

IV—Radical to Conservative? The Nature of the Change

By bringing those statements which favor conciliar supremacy and those that uphold the Pope's primacy in juxtaposition, the impression is readily made that a most violent and radical conversion took place, that we are dealing with a genuine case of retraction. Some Catholics like Scharpff deny that Cusa retracted, others like Bellarmine and Düx maintain that he did. Among those who admit that Cusa radically changed his point of view there is a difference of opinion as to the motives and the nature of the change. The present writer inclines to the opinion that there was a change but that it was not so marked and drastic as a superficial comparison of his conflicting statements might suggest it to be. This may even have its validity if we grant with Gieseler that Cusa set forth principles in his earlier career which threatened to undermine the papal structure.

An explanation is offered on the basis of a distinction made between the practical and the theoretical Cusa. It is possible for a theorist to make statements to which he would not adhere if they were practically applied. There were, in Cusa's case, certain theoretical propositions to which he adhered. He always believed in the primacy of Peter and in the necessity of a united church. In his early days, however, he was forced theoretically to limit that primacy by means of the authority residing in the council. But when he saw his theories applied, saw that the logical outcome

of it all would bring the destruction of the primacy of the Pope, and with it the unity of the church, he decided to place the emphasis where to his mind it was most needed. There could be no higher good than the unity of the church. That must stand though all else may fall. Luther's resurgence to his former and more conservative positions in the face of a threatening radicalism offers an analogy. In the case of Cusa, then, we may conclude that the change was one of modification in emphasis rather than a jump from one extreme position to another. For instance, at the beginning of the Council of Basel he emphasized the principle of conciliar authority without relinquishing the doctrine of the primacy of the Pope. To us these ideas seem mutually exclusive, but Cusa was not the first man who harbored apparently antagonistic truths in his system. The names of Origen and Augustine readily occur to the mind. When he was impressed with the inconsistency existing in his mental life he dropped one of the principles and adhered all the closer to the other. That possibly explains the zeal with which henceforth he fought the battles of the Pope. In short, if the doctrine of conciliar supremacy threatened to destroy the unity of the church it must be sacrificed. Luther came to the conclusion that the apparent destruction of that unity might be synthesized into a broader and purer unity, though he did not see all the implications involved in that larger vision of truth.

Cusa has been accused of cowardice and weakness in view of his desertion of the conciliar cause. But his character and subsequent life hardly warrant the use of such a grave charge. On the other hand it must be noted that change of opinion often evidences strength of character. Or was the step due to alluring prospects? Was the cardinal's hat a bribe? As his life is known not merely by one of two actions but by its whole trend, we must reject insinuations of this nature as we would in the case of Newman. Whatever we may think of his judgment we cannot ascribe low motives to the decision of his heart. He forsook the conciliar party at Basel because of his honest conviction that continued adherence to that party involved the surrender of a principle dear to his heart. By that decision another born leader of men, another prophet to be, another potential reformer failed to arrive.

NATURALISM IN PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS

John W. Buckham
Pacific School of Religion

Modern thought is strongly colored by Naturalism. Of that every observer of the tendency of the time must be aware, whether he be for it or against it. The growth of Naturalism has been steady, at times rapid, since Darwin and Herbert Spencer, much as there is in the work of both of these men that has been set aside. More and more closely the issue is drawn between Idealism and Naturalism. Between Nature and Religion, Science and Theology, there is no conflict; but between Naturalism and Idealism there is an inherent antagonism.

Naturalism is by no means to be identified with Evolution. It is simply one interpretation of Evolution. It is doubtless true that the evolutionary hypothesis has given a strong impetus to Naturalism. But Naturalism itself is as old as Democritus and Lucretius and is an attitude of mind quite as much as a theory. Naturalism may be defined as the interpretation of the Universe in purely material terms. As such it is a negation of Spirit, a refusal to recognize any reality except that of nature.

I. Nowhere is the impact of Naturalism felt so sharply at the present time as in Psychology and Ethics. How great a change is going on in these fields can best be understood by a concrete example of its progress. Since the appearance of Westermarck's "Origin and Development of Moral Ideals" (1906) perhaps no work has been so widely influential as Mr. William McDougal's "An Introduction to Social Psychology," published in 1908 (seventh edition 1913). The book is one of extraordinary interest. It has all the outstanding qualities of the successful presentation of a theory—clarity, continuity, consistency and not too much of attention to the opposite view point. The author is a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a recognized authority in psychology, having published a second volume, "Mind and Body," (1911), which has received wide attention.

The introductory contention of the volume is that the psychology of introspection is outgrown, being at best only "preliminary"; that in place of it we need a "positive science of conduct or behavior"; i. e., a psychology of the instincts which are "the prime movers of all human activity."[1] The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activities and "supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained."[2] Each of the instincts has its accompanying *emotion,* peculiar to itself, which combines with it in determining activity. Upon this basis the author proceeds to construct a Social Psychology, the outlines of which we will endeavor to summarize.

II. The principal instincts of man, as Mr. McDougal outlines them, are (1) the Instinct of Flight and the Emotion of Fear; (2) the Instinct of Repulsion and the Emotion of Disgust; (3) the Instinct of Curiosity and the Emotion of Wonder; (4) the Instinct of Pugnacity and the Emotion of Anger; (5) the Instincts of Self-abasement (or Subjection) and of Self-assertion (or Self-display) and the Emotions of Subjection and Elation (or Negation and Positive Self-feeling); (6) the Parental Instinct and the Tender Emotions. In addition to these primary instincts there are certain others less clearly defined, viz., the Instinct of Reproduction, the Gregarious Instinct and the instincts of Acquisition and Construction. Besides these, certain general tendencies are recognized which have no specific end, such as Sympathy, Suggestion, Imitation and Play.

From this analysis of the Instincts and Emotions Mr. McDougal passes on to consider what he terms the Sentiments. A sentiment is "an organized system of emotional tendencies centered about some object" (p. 122). The typical sentiments are Love and Hate. Each consists of a complex of emotions. Love (as shown by a diagram) is made up of Fear, Pugnacity, Curiosity, Subjection, Self-assertion, and, most of all, Parental Instinct. It is differentiated from Hate in that it does not include Repulsion; while Hate has all the emotions of Love except Self-assertion and the Parental Instinct. How far this description of Love corre-

[1] Chapter I.
[2] P. 44. Citations are from the seventh edition (1913).

sponds with that of Paul in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians may be left to the reader to decide.

Other sentiments, Admiration, Awe, Gratitude, Scorn, Jealousy, etc., are not quite so complex as Love and Hate. Certain of these are described as "binary," like Admiration, which consists of the emotions of Wonder and Negative Self-feeling or Abasement; others as "tertiary," like Awe, which to Wonder and Abasement adds Fear.

III. When he comes to the growth of Self-consciousness and the advance to the higher plane of social conduct, Mr. McDougal, though yielding a bit to accepted ideas, continues to maintain the naturalistic theory, though with evident difficulty. He admits that there is such a thing as Self, but holds that Self-consciousness consists in the individual extension of the Self-regarding sentiment (p. 208). Conscience is "a false psychological assumption" (p. 8). Freedom is an illusion. The libertarian is deceived. Determinism holds, in the human as well as the natural realm. The Will, in any such sense as William James, e. g., regarded it, as a factor which exerts itself on the side of the weaker motive and enables it to conquer, is a misconception. There is no such thing. Volition is "only a more subtle and complex interplay of those impulses which actuate all animal behavior" (p. 231). Its fundamental impulse is Self-regard (p. 249). When one sets aside a stronger desire for the sake of a weaker—which may be to his disadvantage but which seems to him worthier—it is solely by virtue of the activity of the self-regarding sentiment. When a man rushes into a burning building to try to save a child at the risk of his own life it is no act of pure Altruism; it is due to the sentiment which demands that he shall live up to his ideal of what someone else will think of him, supplemented by his Self-control, which, again, is "a special development of the self-regarding sentiment" (p. 253).

IV. The ease and skill and intrepidity with which established psychological and ethical principles from Plato and Aristotle to James Ward and Martineau are thus set aside are so characteristic of our day, so unconcerned, so plausible, that one is likely to be captured with the apparent success of the undertaking. It is all so plain that one wonders why Psychology has been

so blind, so attached to its idols, as not to have reached these conclusions long ago. But a little reflection shows not only marked limitations but astonishing assumptions and omissions in the argument. Not that there is not much of contributive value, but it is so involved in the general point of view that it is with difficulty detached from its setting.

When the theory is surveyed as a whole such defects as these emerge:

In the first place this apotheosis of the instincts contradicts consciousness at many vital points. That civilized man has kinship, psychological and moral as well as physical, with animals and savages, the adherent of the older psychology is ready to admit. He is even willing to concede, if he is honest with himself, that in some respects he is no better, yes, even worse than his animal kindred. But that the movements of his mind, as reported to him by consciousness, are so much of a kind with those of the animal as Mr. McDougal contends—of that he is not so sure. In fact, he is quite certain that they are not. His own consciousness tells him that he has a sacred sense of duty within him of whose presence he sees at best but a glimmer in the higher animals. He feels that to classify his love for his friend, his home, his country, humanity, as nothing but a sublimated self-regard would be to do it a deep dishonor. He is not so easily convinced that the voice of conscience is an illusion. At any rate he knows that for some reason it refuses to be silenced. That when he is conscious of acting freely he is really *determined*, seems exceedingly plausible in print; but when "Duty whispers low thou must" the arguments for being unable to say "I can" do not prove convincing.

Not only is there a lack of correspondence to consciousness in this setting aside of the elementary *principia* of Psychology and Ethics, there is also an academic adjustment of concepts, a schematism, a disposition of difficulties to conform to a system, which do not carry conviction. The "binary" and "tertiary" and still more complex combinations of instincts and emotions which are offered to supplant the "old essential candors" of Duty and Love and Reverence give too much of the impression of intellectual constructs rather than interpretations of reality.

V. In the second place this Psychological Naturalism lowers the meaning and worth of human life. There is about it an unwholesome sense of dragging the things in the basement of our nature up into the living-room. We do not need to deny that there is a basement and that the things that are there should be overhauled, and rearranged, but the basement is not the chief part of the house. If the trail of the serpent is over the old orthodoxism, with its doctrine of original sin, it is over this even more. It thrusts our human nature back into the mud and scum of things. It is too largely a psychology of the Higher Ape. Not that we need to disavow all relationship with our aspiring ancestor. But ask him if he recognizes us. Interrogate him as to whether the faintest gleam of the ideas and ideals, the hopes and purposes which form the sustenance of our daily living when we are true to ourselves have so much as dawned upon him. His only answer is gibberish.

No; despite the kinship there is an enormous chasm between the ape and the developed man—as anthropologists have recognized—and the Simian is not the key to the Christian. To recognize the greatness of the differences does not mean to deny the continuity. It does deny the principle that the higher is to be interpreted by the lower. It is true that Mr. McDougal in a single sentence denies any such intention: "It should be remembered that the humble nature of the remote origins of anything we justly admire or revere in nowise detracts from its intrinsic worth or dignity, and that the ascertainment of those origins need not, and should not, diminish by one jot our admiration or reverence" (p. 254). Very true, if the question is one of *origins* as such, but the contention of the entire work is that the animal instincts are not merely origins but that they maintain themselves in human life and constitute its determining forces.

VI. This leads us to the third objection to the author's Social Psychology. It is out of harmony with the Developmental Theory itself. For, in the first place, it ignores the significance of "saltations," "critical points" when the leap from one stage of progress to the next is so great, the change so revolutionary, that the later form of life cannot be understood in terms of the earlier.

The organism passes into an entirely new environment and is endowed with new capacities, as when the larva becomes an insect, or the chrysalis a butterfly. The mind of man may occupy a body structurally the same as that of the ape, but the mind itself has entered a new stage of being and operates in a world of new dimensions and forces.

There is also, in the second place, an overlooking of the fact that certain instincts, like certain organs, may be sloughed off in the developing process, or at least become mere functionless appendages, while other instincts are so transformed as to lose their original character almost entirely. Take the instinct of Flight and the accompanying emotion of Fear. What place have these in the life of the highly developed modern man—in a Lincoln, a Gladstone, a General Gordon? It may be that Reverence has some remote relationship to what was once Fear, but it is as diverse in itself as light from darkness.

There are, it is true, instincts which have *not* died out, but which *ought* to be killed out, which alas! come surging back upon men like a flood when for centuries and generations they have been so suppressed as to seem almost extinct. Such an instinct is Pugnacity, which had been so far scotched before the outbreak of the Great War that Mr. McDougal himself, with a happy lack of consistency, thought it all but dead, declaring that Emulation, though in some way related to Pugnacity, tended in the life of societies "gradually to take the place of the instinct of pugnacity, as a force making for the development of social life and organization" (p. 293). Yet we have witnessed an outbreak of civilized and scientific Pugnacity, far other and far worse than primitive Pugnacity.

VII. Finally, the Naturalistic Psychology fails to take account of one of the chief formative forces in human life in that it wholly underestimates Religion as an original motive power. Not that Mr. McDougal fails to offer a theory of Religion, but it is a mere repetition of the old theory of Fear, plus curiosity and subjection, which so long ago fell into desuetude.

"The conception of supernal powers, the products of man's creative imagination [Imagination—this is the first time this has

appeared in the discussion. What is it? Instinct? Emotion? Sentiment? Binary or tertiary?] working through, and under the driving power of, the instincts of fear, curiosity and subjection, became the great generators and supporters of custom" (p. 293). Fear, Curiosity and Subjection are all animal instincts—why did they fail to produce a religion in the animal order? The answer obviously is that the animal is not susceptible to, is not capable of Religion—which is not an instinct at all—though it is often termed such in recognition of its ineradicable nature. Nor is it a fusion of instincts, as Mr. McDougal holds it to be. Religion is an *experience,* and one whose essential place cannot be overlooked in any adequate account of the forces which control human life and conduct.

VIII. Since Mr. McDougal's book won so wide attention and assent there has been a large output in the same line, especially in the field of experimental psychology. It has been chiefly the work of American psychologists and constitutes a valuable advance in the knowledge of the psycho-physical organism. So long as this Psycho-physical Psychology keeps within its own sphere and does not attempt to supplant introspective psychology, metaphysics and religion, its service is constructive and valuable. But it is difficult for it to keep within this province, whatever its intentions and however earnest its protestations that it has no pan-psychological purpose.

The extent of the claims of psychology as well as the value of its findings are conspicuous in Professor John B. Watson's "Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist" (1919), which may be taken as representative. The bias appears in the title itself. Behaviorism is the author's creed, and not simply his attitude. The work is one of those deceptively successful attempts to construct a complete working system upon a single hypothesis which leads the exponent of it to think that he is in possession of the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

It is unquestionably the case that the whole range of human motive and activity and output can be read in terms of Behavior. The only question is whether it is the true or comprehensive formula. The doubt arises in reading the initial chapter, The

Problems and Scope of Psychology, and culminates in the final chapter, Personality and its Disturbance, in which Professor Watson outlines the "Behavioristic and Common-sense Conception of Personality." Personality he regards thus: "Let us mean by the term personality an individual's total assets (actual and potential) and liabilities (actual and potential) on the reaction side" (p. 397). By "assets" the author intends "that part of the individual's equipment which makes for his adjustment and balance in his present environment and for readjustment if environment changes." The value of this view of persons is held to be that "it enables one to point out the essential factors which make them occupy the place they do in social and community life" (p. 405).

This comes rather near setting aside Kant's maxim always to treat persons as ends, never as means. Yet there is a place for this standard of measurement of persons. There is no harm—indeed there is decided gain for practical purposes—in viewing personality in this way, provided it is recognized as but one aspect, and a limited one, of something far greater. But when it is assumed that this is a final account of personality, as in the statement "Self and personality under careful scrutiny cease to be mysterious and become problems which can be solved by careful observation" (p. 405), then it is quite clear that personality in becoming a mere "man of reactions" has ceased to be of any intrinsic significance. We have lost the world of values.

It has remained, however, for Freudism to plot the high point of the curve of Naturalistic Psychology and accomplish the complete submergence of Ethics. This it does by making the instinctive or sub-conscious the main factor in life, where the really significant activity goes on, while consciousness with its powers is a mere insignificant *addendum*. In his latest volume Professor Freud uses this interesting analogy:

"We will compare the system of the unconscious to a large ante-chamber, in which the psychic impulses rub elbows with one another, as separate beings. There opens out of this ante-chamber another, smaller room, a sort of parlor which consciousness occupies. But on the threshold between the two rooms there stands a watchman; he passes on the individual psychic impulses, censors them, and will not let them into the parlor if they do not meet with his approval. . . . When they have

succeeded in pressing forward to the threshold, and have been sent back by the watchman, then they are unsuitable for consciousness and we call them *suppressed*."[1]

These suppressed desires, for the Freudians, are not really suppressed but only *repressed,* and their anarchistic activities are the real clue to all of our sleeping and most of our waking hours. To the unillumined mind, before Freud arose, it was the parlor rather than the ante-room in which the significant events and interviews of life occur and the watchman, who used to be called Conscience or the Will, was invested with a task which made his the really decisive part in life. One wonders how long he will continue to exercise his office under the Freudian system. Certainly not much longer than he is supported by a sound ethic and sustained by an adequate religion.

X. In the light of the Naturalistic Psychology both Morality and Religion vanish as traditions of a past which was under the sway of the three-fold illusion of Idealism, Romanticism and Rationalism. What kind of a society is possible without these two basal principles? The training of the Instincts is surely desirable, necessary—but what will prompt men to it short of duty? And what will sustain the sense of Duty save Religion. *"Duty!* thou exalted and great name," exclaims Kant, "before whom inclinations are mute, though they may secretly rebel against it—what origin is worthy of thee, and where shall we find the root of thy high descent? It cannot be anything less than that which exalts man above himself (as a portion of the world of sense) and knits him to an order of things which only the understanding can conceive." To knit us to that higher order and move us to live and act in it is the task of Religion. Without it we cannot have a stable social order. "Far more easily wilt thou be able to build a city in the air, than on earth to found a city without the gods."

Our kinship is twofold, with a lower order and a higher. We shall fail in fully understanding ourselves if we ignore the lower. We shall fail in our task and fail of our goal if we forget the higher.

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[1] A General Introduction to Psycho-analysis, by Sigmund Freud. See Current Opinion, September, 1920, p. 356.

WILL EVOLUTION BRING PEACE?

FRANK S. HICKMAN
Evanston, Illinois

Is a treaty indeed a mere "scrap of paper" which shrivels and falls to ashes before the furnace blast of human hatred? Would a world-treaty, such as the League of Nations proposes, eventually meet such a fate? These questions spring unbidden to the lip, and the suspicion is strong that world peace is not to come by that treaty, nor, in the last analysis, by any treaty. Treaties register the pulse of the world, but they do not make it. But both war and peace are of the blood which pulsates through the veins of the world.

The ebb and flow of life in the world to-day is the same as it has been throughout all history. It is part of the evolutionary development of the race; and the problem of bringing the world to enduring peace is interfused with the whole current of human evolution. If that is so, the question immediately becomes pertinent, Will evolution in and of itself insure the coming of peace in the world? That is, as man evolves into a state of civilization, and even culture, does he perforce evolve into a state of peace with his fellow man?

The heart of the problem, of course, lies in the human struggle for existence; but that is a complex thing which allows of no simple and direct approach. It can be studied only in its implications, two or three of which may be profitably examined in the search for an answer to our question, Will evolution bring peace?

One notable implication is that man never lives alone. In his struggle for existence he has never fought single handed. The story of his conquest of the world and of his climb to civilization is the story of his progressive ability to combine, for purposes offensive and defensive, with larger and larger numbers of his own kind. Follow him as he swings his way through history. First he is a member of a primitive clan, whose one tie is that of blood

kinship. Then his clan fuses with other clans to form the ancient nation. Then his nation is strung with other nations upon the string of a barbaric empire. Then he is gripped by the imperialism of Rome. When Rome falls he reaches after some stable state of society in northern feudalism. Upon the heels of the feudal hierarchy follows the modern nation; then the leaguing of nations to preserve a European "balance of power." Finally, as the climax of man's ability to organize with his kind, the whole modern civilized world aligns itself on either side of the most terrible line of battle which mankind has ever conceived.

This organization of man into political groups is rivaled by his power to organize for commercial and industrial purposes. If man's first sally from the jungle was in line with his quest for food, his last terrible struggle was, in part at least, an effort to control the markets of the world. The modern world does not fly to arms as easily as did the primitive world of the ancients, but there is a sense in which it is more continuously at war. The modern nation is engaged in an unceasing effort to reach its tenuous fingers to the uttermost parts of the earth, and lay hold on mines, forests, rivers, and sources of crude materials, as well as upon markets for its finished products. That is the way the modern struggle for existence is waged. The laborers, merchants, and bankers of a nation must be mustered into an inner solidarity of purpose and understanding if its army and navy are to have the impact of organized strength which is absolutely essential in all modern battles between nations. And the battle lines between industrial and commercial units among nations and within nations are constantly drawn for intense though bloodless warfare, when armies and navies lie idle.

A second implication of man's struggle for existence is his power of invention. He invents things—weapons of warfare, tools for his toil, and ways of harnessing the powers of nature; but no less does he invent methods—means of communication, devices for transmitting his findings from generation to generation, ways of forming the mind of the young, schemes of government, codes of law, and systems of diplomacy.

What a thrilling tale is this of the battle of man for life by

the power of his inventive genius. Think of the long span he has covered: from the brandished club of the savage to the monster gun which can hurl a shell seventy miles with precision of aim; from the crude battle plans of the clan chieftain to the incredible feat of a General Foch, directing five terrible modern battles simultaneously; from the first timid little trading vessel creeping along a friendly coast, afraid of the dragons of an unknown deep, to the network of modern ocean liners which lace the nations together; from the curious legend transmitted by word of mouth from fathers to sons, to the flood of modern literature which eddies into the humblest home; from the personal prestige of one man leading in a primitive foray, to the word of command which issues from a shadowy castle or parliament hall to a chain of diverse peoples encircling the earth. These are wonderful leaps made by man in his progressive mastery of the earth, all made possible by cumulative power of invention. Man, the master-inventor, is the supreme contender in the universal struggle for existence.

Still a third implication is the human power of idealism. The fight for life on the sub-human levels seems to be dominated by physical need, but with man the physical is not the all-important. It is written in every fiber of man's struggle for life that he is not to live by bread alone. He does indeed fight for food and shelter, but as truly does he fight for his ideals. The chieftain leads his band to glory as well as to food. He is keen to avenge a wrong or to exalt the prowess of his clan. These are his ideals and they are his necessities. No less does the ideal impel the modern struggle for achievement. Mad Prussianism finds its principle of world conquest in the ideal of German "Kultur"—the world cannot survive without it. On the other hand, England, France, and America unite in the name of an ideal to checkmate Prussianism. It is a miracle of idealism that stems the German tide at Chateau-Thierry and sends its redeeming currents tingling again through the benumbed veins of the world. Some keen student of the war declared it to be a war of wits, of inventive skill. If that were the whole story, it is no wonder that the Central Powers should have threatened the safety of the world, for they had a great lead in the inventions of war. But it is not the whole story. The Central

Powers did match their wits against the allies; but they matched also their ideals. What they gained in wit they lost in the surviving power of the ideal, and with it it would seem that they lost their coveted supremacy of the world.

Now, to what end is all this growing power of human genius —the ever unfolding power of human organization, invention, and idealism? Is the end of it all a consummate warfare? Is human society ultimately to burn itself out by the ever-increasing current of its own fighting genius? Or is the end of this eternal evolution of man the attainment of an ever-expanding and ever-deepening world-brotherhood, wherein profound and abiding peace may dwell?

How does man's power of political, industrial, and commercial combination bear upon the question? It has already appeared that in this power lies the possibility of warfare of ever increasing intensity. Does the possibility of peace lie in it also? The answer is plain. The hope for the fighting efficiency of any group is that there shall be no fighting within that group. Military, industrial, commercial solidarity demands that there shall be inner harmony. That man is branded as seditious who stirs up trouble within the camp. So even within the armed camp there is an area of peace. Enlarge that camp to the proportions of a nation, and the inclosed area of peace is enlarged proportionately. Then when nations league together for a common defensive, Frenchman, Englishman, American, Canadian, Australian, Japanese, Chinese, African, East Indian, are all for the moment brothers in bond. Or, in a more permanent way, a British Empire may fling its flag over the seven seas, and gather into one strange fold men of every race and tongue; and the essential stability of its power resides in the fact that no one of those races or tongues shall dare make war against another.

Or contemplate another form of combination—the modern trust and its antithesis, the modern labor union. Is it not agreed that as between the members of a group of commercial or industrial powers, united for common purposes of trade strategy, all warfare of competition shall cease? And is it not a fundamental principle of trade unions and their federations that no member of

the combination shall compete with another member in the wage market? Here are areas of peace of very great significance, even though peace within the group may be made to minister to the more deadly power of conflict between groups.

Very much the same view may be taken of man's progress through invention. If by the power of invention man has become the deadliest fighter in the world, by the same power he has become the mightiest agent for good in the world. There are those who spend their genius upon deadly gases and the intricacies of modern gunnery; but no less are there those who spend sleepless nights in the laboratory solving the problems of peace. The electric car and the rushing transcontinental train are as much the triumph of the human inventive genius as is that dreadful shark of the seas, the submarine. The powers of chemistry lend themselves to the healing arts of medicine quite as readily as they do to the making of the combustibles of war.

In a similar vein, man's power of invention stands for the formation of great systems of schools and churches and of all manner of societies for the advancement of the human weal, quite as readily as it leads to the diplomatic undercurrents of military ambition. The League of Nations may be but a blind term for a League of War in the minds of many, even many of its promoters, who can tell? But it is certain that the concept of a League of Nations has just as truly grown up in the intellectual genius of others as the outward garment of a League of Peace. The "Tiger of France" has been accused of using the proposed League as a kind of catspaw for pulling the chestnuts of French national ambition out of the fire of German aggression. And in the same breath the President of the United States has been berated for seeing in the League of Nations an impossible day dream of idealization which will not stand the grim test of actuality. And so the master-stroke of man's inventive genius, the forging of a League of the nations of the world, seems indifferently to lend itself to either peace or war.

This discussion has already carried us far over the threshold of the bearing of man's power of idealism upon the meaning of evolution for war and peace. We note with gratitude the sounding

of certain clear notes in the recent world war. Some ethical lights were thrown vividly upon every transaction of the war. It is significant that not a single major power involved in the conflict failed at one time or another to plead the justice of its cause before the bar of the world's conscience. It is significant that the element of mercy to the sick, the wounded, and the bereft was crystallized and organized in a degree never dreamed of before in the world's history. Precautions for the moral cleanness of soldiers were exercised in a most rigid way, particularly among the troops of the western world. Never before in the history of human warfare was the note of democratic idealism so distinctly sounded. These were but the intense foci of lights which had long before been playing, in a more or less diffused way, throughout our modern Christian civilization. They spoke of educational and spiritual influences marvelously at work in the life of the nations.

But over against all this was an equally manifest perverse idealism. We now have little trouble understanding an incident reported in the life of the young Kaiser Wilhelm a generation ago, when he is said impatiently to have ruled the name of Christ out of a conversation which he was holding with a leading German theologian of the day. "For," he is quoted, "the qualities for which that name stands can never be the qualities for which the German spirit of conquest must stand." It is of one spirit with the celebrated grief of the ancient Alexander that he had no more worlds to trample under the feet of a selfish conquest. Or, to come nearer home, the very war for a chivalrous ideal which gave us back our boys from the trenches maimed and wounded, gave us also more profiteer millionaires than could have been dreamed possible. Men gambled with sugar when the vital energy of the nation was ebbing because of the sugar shortage. We talked largely of mandates for the helpless smaller nations, and awoke to find that soon those mandates were threatening to become imperial fetters of steel. We boasted about the wave of American idealism, and soon discovered that the receding tide had strewed our prosperous sands with a human wreckage directly attributable to a bitter gale of vicious, materialistic selfishness the like of

which had hardly swept our land since the landing of the Mayflower.

Now what is the net result of all this? Is it not this, that the operation of the whole evolutionary power of mankind has never guaranteed, in itself, either peace or war? It is a great natural process that seems to lend itself with utter indifference to either the one or the other. Every power that man possesses in his tremendous struggle for life he has utilized for the creation of war, more and more terrible. And every identical power he has used to extend the areas of peace. The casual student of human affairs, as he begins to comprehend the elements that contribute to the lifting of man from savagery to civilization, may fondly imagine that those elements inevitably carry man with tidal power toward a millennium of peace. Scholars had begun to say that the momentum of modern civilization had carried us so far forward that war could never again be possible. The "balance of power" secured by civilization was such that it could never again be thrown out of poise. But in that moment war in its most ingenious and hideous form well nigh swept our vaunted civilization from the face of the earth.

There is unending conflict between the spirit of war and the spirit of peace. The lights of an idealism that makes for peace grow brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. But the shadows of an idealism that makes for war keep forever encroaching like the black cloudbank of a thunder storm. This is the baffling dilemma presented by the whole story of human evolution. Man's powers to do and to be keep forever growing. On the one hand man grows in the genius of a hateful fury, until with a kind of sublime insanity he threatens to burn his social world to a cinder. On the other hand he is mastered by a more benignant spirit. He summons all his growing powers to the task of turning the arid deserts of human passion into a garden of humankindness that shall blossom as the rose. In terms of evolution, how shall we solve this everlasting dilemma?

The answer would seem to lie near at hand. Evolution recognizes not only the struggle for existence, but also the principle of natural selection, as fundamental. Again man rises above the

level of the brute life of his world. We can never be quite certain that there is anything in the subhuman orders of life which contributes to their power of natural selection which is above the blindly necessitarian. But human evolution can be accounted for in no such restricted terms. If there is a biological principle of natural selection at work in the human order, it cannot be said to be an unconditioned biological process. Every social meaning, to say nothing of every psychological and spiritual meaning, that plays around the whole development of the race, belies such a limitation as that. The idealistic element in human behavior furnishes an undeniable contribution to the power of natural selection always and everywhere at work in the evolution of man. We cannot ignore the wonderful play of natural forces in the life of mankind—what Thorndike calls man's original nature. But we cannot at all understand the use to which man puts his evolutionary equipment, either individually or socially, either in one age or in the whole process of historical evolution, until we make place for an idealistic principle of natural selection. When man is ruled from beneath, when his principle of natural selection is an avaricious rapacity and greed, his unfolding powers of genius fashion for him a keen blade upon which he may fall and take his own life. When man is ruled from above, when his principle of natural selection is a spirit of love and vicarious sacrifice, his genius places in his hand an equally keen blade that shall hew out for him and all his kind a place in the world of natural environment wherein justice, mercy, and peace shall dwell.

If from the beginning of time the spirit of Nietzsche's superman has been abroad in the world, seeking whom he may devour, it seems equally certain that from the beginning of time there has been growing up a rival spirit of compassionate humanity, visiting the fatherless and the widow in their affliction with a mantle of humankindness. And it is this spirit of altruism and human sympathy that has been the foundation of every area of peace which the world has known. Though it may have shown its more or less utilitarian phases as the inner guarantee of the power of a group to make war, yet in itself it never depended finally upon coercion, but upon the loyalty of man to man. It is the growing

power of this spirit of human fraternity which has made possible the growing areas of peace in human life. Duped, tricked, and beguiled it may have been; made to serve as the hand maiden of war it undoubtedly has been. And yet, in turn, it cannot be denied that war has often been waged truly in its name.

By the turning, then, of the principle of natural selection from a brutal selfishness to the spirit of vicarious unselfishness the whole process of evolution is turned from the brewing of war to the unfolding of peace. One mighty influence has been at work in the world from the beginning to effect that transformation. The Christian faith names that power the Spirit of God, and that Spirit found its sublime climax in the cross of our Lord Jesus. When the Spirit of Christ shall have entered in all its fullness into the life pulse of our humanity, the glow of health will supplant the fever of war. Then shall be laid the foundations of an everlasting Kingdom of Love, Righteousness, and Peace, wherein Christ shall be the rightful Prince and Lord. In the only real war against war it is this Prince who rides upon the white horse who is to banish the sable prince of war. No evolution can produce peace but that evolution wherein God's Spirit masters the human heart of the world, which is the purpose of the gospel of the Prince of Peace.

WE FELICITATE MR. BURROUGHS[1]

William Frank Martin
Carey, Ohio

"The whole creation (which) groaneth and travaileth in pain with us until now" may as well come from labor to refreshment. For Mr. Burroughs accepts the universe! He has viewed it carefully, looked the gift in the mouth, and in emulation of the Creator, has pronounced it good. Not indeed without reservations. But after patient investigation, throughout his many years, he is willing to pass it on as being worthy of a cautious acceptance. He will ask for no fourteen points as being essential to its remaking. He is ready to make peace on the basis of the *status quo*. May not the universe well be grateful?

The reading of his recent, and perhaps last, volume is something of a delight. Mr. Burroughs is always an entertaining speaker. He is a naturalist of keen insight, and within the realm of nature an authority. But to expect Mr. Burroughs to keep within the realm of nature is to expect the impossible. He is forever blowing bubbles, with a penchant for those of theological hue. And it is in respect to his bubbles only that he invites attack. Like most scientific materialists who rule out the supernatural, Mr. Burroughs is ill at ease. There is something that will not let him rest. His wireless station is disturbed by cross-currents, which he is unable to account for. And while he has accepted the universe, there is a Power in the universe which he has not yet isolated and examined. He appears to be as one of the ancients who said (Job 4. 15),

> "A spirit passed before my face;
> It stood still, but I could not discern the appearance thereof;
> A form was before mine eyes;
> There was silence, and—"

Unlike the ancient he got no further, except to disturb the silence. Mr. Burroughs is quite sure that if he could meet up with God he

[1] *Accepting the Universe.* By John Burroughs. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

could ask him some embarrassing questions. So it was with Job. But the record has it that when the meeting came, it was Job who was embarrassed. Job had dared to wish that

> "his words were now written;
> That they were inscribed in a book;
> That with an iron pen and lead
> They were graven in the rock for ever!" (19. 23.)

He went so far as to declare that, if the chance were his, he "would fill his mouth with arguments, and would know the words which he would answer him" (23. 4); but it is interesting to know that when the interview was granted it was with difficulty that even so perfect a man as Job could be induced to say anything, the little being "I am of small account; I lay my hand upon my mouth" (40. 4). Mr. Burroughs has written the book—indeed, like the illustrious John for whom perhaps he was named, he has written his full share of the Bible of Science, this last being a Revelation, to supplement his gospel and epistles, in all of which the creed of pantheism is preached and the kingdom of nature unfolded. Doubtless in his own time God will be the reviewer, as he shall be with all of us, and he alone can do it effectively. Meanwhile some of us would like the pleasure of playing the part of Job's comforters, and of offering a few remarks of our own. We cannot hope to clear the atmosphere in the mind of the one we parley with; but we may at least have the fun of seeing him kick up a bit of dust from the ashheap, while he scrapes himself with a Darwinian potsherd.

Mr. Burroughs admits his building of altars to the Unknown God. And before them he makes propitiatory offering. It is of praise that the universe is solvent. When so much of the habitable earth at the present time is suspected of being otherwise, this is a cheering confession. Why it is solvent, whose wise economy makes it to be so, is to him inscrutable. But he feels sure it will not go up in smoke, and equally sure there is to be no new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. His is the materialist's old time religion, with no blessed hope of a new phase. As it was with the anthropoid ape and the Piltdown man, as it is with Mr. Burroughs, and as it ever shall be when man who is "stuccoed with birds and quadrupeds

all over" peels off the stucco, saving either the song or the yelp; so nature must travail in pain, improving but getting nowhere, having a preponderance of unaccounted for good, a perpetual motion picture with no plot to keep up the interest of those who watch the screen. All that we are to be permitted to see in nature is that she is forever dressing herself up, with no place to go. It is a view that may excite our wonder at the dervish dance of it, but can hardly be good unto edifying. And yet we are told it as a stronger meat than the old theology has afforded. Which means, perhaps, that it will require a stronger stomach to swallow the dose. When it gives a better example in nation-building than the Pilgrim with his compact, of cannibal training than the missionary with his Bible, of the overthrow of paganism than Paul with his "foolishness of preaching," or of the call to a self-denying life than Christ with his cross, we may venture to believe it.

Mr. Burroughs, at much pains, sets the faith of a naturalist in its best light. But like most indicters of the Christian faith he interprets their beliefs in terms of cast-aside and unscriptural creeds. An example is in his effort to show that we either identify God with the universe, or else, not caring to make him the author of evil, we invent a Devil to be another God. Does any Christian theist identify nature with God? Do we not rather think of it as his handiwork, marred by evil forces, surviving and defeating them? Does any believer of the scriptures think of Satan as possessing the attributes of God? We are not so unfair to science as to judge its teachings by the scientific views of an age now past. Science has repudiated quite as many views once held as has theology. The truth has always been near to hand, but neither science nor theology has always found it. And the contemporary views of both may change, but the truth will abide. Astrology, alchemy, Ptolemaic systems, and many such books of the Bible of Science are hopelessly discredited. But the Bible of the Christian, older than these, has lost no page from the admiration of men, and no weight of its authenticity. Many have doubted it, but none have disproved it. When the Psalmist said, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork," he gave a statement that is still acceptable. And when it was said in

Job, "He stretcheth out the north over empty space, and hangeth the earth upon nothing" (26. 7), he uttered what the science of that day did not dream of, but what the science of to-day is in accord with. Long after Job men had the earth resting upon the shoulders of Atlas. If science had written the first chapter of Genesis in the days of Moses, or even centuries later, would the order of creation have stood the test as the Mosaic account has stood it? Science once ridiculed the Mosaic account of the origin of light, only to learn what the account suggested, that light is a natural force independent of the sun, stars, etc. And this too is the import of the question put to Job (38. 19), "Where is the way where light dwelleth?" "In the beginning God" looks better to us than "In the beginning Chance started with a what-was-it?" Revelation gives us an account of the origin of evil (Isa. 14. 12-15; Gen. 3), and of its ultimate undoing, far more intelligible and satisfying than any which science can offer. Of the universe we know little, whether from science or scripture; but of the earth we know all that the materialist knows, and yet see no reason for a surrender of the theistic faith. Our God is great enough to account for all known facts, with a sufficient reserve power to account for any that may yet be adduced. We think of the earth as a workshop, in which man, at least, is being made. We are sure he needs the presence of evil as well as of good. It is credible that while man is a free moral agent, so may also be the angelic hosts. And that if some angels fell from their high estate, God could make their wrath to praise him, and give to them a limited permission to work that which is evil. And that inanimate nature may be infected as well as human nature is a reasonable implication as well as a scriptural teaching. The facts are what they are, and are not different with us from what they appear to Mr. Burroughs. The difference is only in the interpretation. God is not the author of evil, but he gives it a limited permission. He does not remove it as yet, because the good of such creature as man can be developed only under adverse conditions. Our virtues imply our temptations; our victories demand our conflicts; our salvation necessitates a possibility of being lost. Character must be tempered. If this be unscientific, then to say that an electric force must meet with opposition to pro-

duce the incandescent light, or that vision comes by the response of an optic nerve to sensation, is equally unscientific. In the arc lamp and in the optic nerve the resistance is a material one, for light is a material thing. But virtue and righteousness are spiritual qualities, and the resistance must come from a spiritual realm. Mr. Burroughs well says, "A perfect world would not be one without sin or suffering or struggle or failure. There can be no perfect world." With our present need, this is true. And it is why the scripture affords no reason to think that, during the present age, we shall gradually evolve into a millennium of righteousness; for if so, those who live near such time could have no virtues to be compared with those of men who won in a sterner conflict. Mr. Burroughs can see the value of evil, as a naturalist, but in theology he cannot harmonize it with the idea of God.

The majority, I suppose, of those who hold to a theistic faith accept evolution as a working hypothesis. Sir Oliver Lodge affirms that evolution does not disprove the fall, or the creation story, as it deals only with the body. And Professor Bowne said, "Evolution as a method of origins is useless, as a method of progress harmless." But as a method of progress it appears to be as good as any. It does not rule out the Creator, but to be credible demands One. And if science should yet show beyond doubt, as it has not done, that man is descended from the ape, or any lower form of life, it must ever remain true that there was a time when he became a living soul. Within limits the evolutionary theory has an abundant proof. This is shown in the elimination of the lower types of animal life known to geology, and in the increase of brain and nerve force over brawn in both man and beast. The stream of human history shows the evolving from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher, in manifold ways. But a method, of whatever sort, is unthinkable apart from a wisdom and power of control, such as we ascribe to God. Irrational Chance or the Divine wisdom are the two alternatives. Materialism fails by its own blindness, and avoids the one Mystery by a maze of mysteries equally inscrutable. Mr. Burroughs says, "Science knows no mysteries; it knows only insoluble problems and comparatively few of them." Then he proceeds to give us a chapter on "The

Great Mystery" in which he says "Science has real mysteries. Catalysis is one." I would add, Mr. Burroughs is another.

Our veteran naturist cannot see that man, as distinguished from other forms of life, should have a soul. "Where," he asks, "in the biologic history of man did the soul appear?" He claims for man only a higher intelligence, with a development of the moral faculty. And yet he says in another place, "The old law of nature has been limited and qualified by a new law which has come into the world and which is just as truly a biological law in its application to man as was the old law of might. I refer to the law of man's moral nature, the source of right, justice, mercy." By what process of logic, then, may he account for the presence of the moral faculty by the recognition of a new biological law which has been introduced, and yet say that the inbreathing of the soul was not equally sound as a biological law? His prefatory admission of possible inconsistencies was well made. They appear in his statements, his logic, his use of terms. He sees another's mote, but not his own beam. His eye is not single, and the body of his book is full of darkness. He is the double-minded man, unstable in all his ways of putting a thing. He is trying to serve two masters, one the relentless logic of a bald materialism, of which Mr. Haeckel is the more consistent exponent; the other the disturbing presence of a supernatural something which intrudes and cannot be cried down. As a further example of the inconsistent, he alludes to an English clergyman who said early in the war that if the Germans should win he would never open his Bible again, and thinks of this as an admission of an unsettled faith. And so it was. Yet Mr. Burroughs, whose faith is founded upon a rock, as he so often tells us, reminds us that he said in 1916, "Whatever triumph Prussian aggressiveness and ruthlessness may meet with, they must in time meet with defeat, else evolution has miscarried, and its latest and highest product, man's moral nature, is in its survival value but dust and ashes." In what respect was the faith of the one more firmly placed than that of the other? There were some of us whose faith was not at all disturbed by the great war. It was only the man whose faith was in Christian civilization rather than in the Christ who found that he had misplaced his confidence.

To Mr. Burroughs the fall of Adam implies that the course of man has been steadily downward, whereas he is sure that our "fall" has been a development into a higher state of being. It is another instance of his inability to see a scriptural fact as he is supposed to view a natural phenomenon. Can he possibly think that he has given a fair statement of the biblical teaching? Does Adam's fall imply that every man must keep falling? Is it so very bad? Over what sort of a precipice is Mr. Burroughs trying to push Adam? Surely one of his own invention. Certainly Adam fell from his first estate, which was one of innocency. What sort of a paradise man should have possessed if the race had maintained the estate of innocency is not for us to guess. But we are sure that righteousness is better than innocence, and that struggle, wisely directed, must bring to the race a gain much higher than that of primitive well being. Does any Christian think that more was lost by the fall than may be won in the atonement? And as for the fall, is it any less a scientific than a religious fact? The original protoplasm, enzymes, new motion, electron, or whatever other scientific myth it was with which life in the universe began, was an innocent thing, unhurt as yet with evil, pestilence, and death. But somewhere its innocent nature was lost, and the trouble began. But we do not say that the course of nature has been downward. It has been upward. The struggle has availed something. Theology can have no difficulty in any of its postulates that science does not also have.

Mr. Burroughs alludes to a cult he found in Florida who denied the sphericity of the globe, and shut themselves into a little world of their own, ever so unreal. Unable to harmonize their imperfect theories with a greater universe, they sought refuge in a mere illusion. To the naturalist this was of course amusing, as it would be to us all. But as a matter of fact, how much do they differ from the materialist? For does not he rule out what he is not able to fit in with his theories, and shut himself up to a little life? Does he not refuse or disregard points of contact, although knowing that elevation in the scale of life is measured by the increase of such points of contact? Does he not put from him those "thoughts that wander through eternity"; the flowering of the

spiritual from the material stem of life; the communion of the soul with the Divine Spirit? It is not because such men are so steadfastly devoted to the purely scientific, for many men of science have the gnostic propensity for "intruding into the things which they have not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind" (Gal. 2. 18). Professor Rishell well said: "Science stops where the facts of observation stop. Its only business is to interpret these facts into theories consistent with them. Anything further is not science, but speculation, often of the most dogmatic kind." I think it is true that most men of science who refuse Him "in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden" (Col. 2. 3), are inclined to vagaries of some sort, as for instance, Mr. Oliver Lodge at the present time. "How strange," says Mr. Burroughs, "that we should crave a creed or a belief that goes outside of our experimental knowledge; that is independent of it, not subject to its tests and limitations; something afar off and irrational and inexplicable, and beyond the reach of time and change! Who is the philosopher who said that we are guided by our common sense in everything but our religious beliefs?" Well, whoever he was he might have said the same with respect to those taken captive by unbelief. For may not the reality of a spiritual experience be as fully assured to man as the reality of his enjoyment of the flowers in his garden, or his response to the delights of a June day? If his "heart leaps up when he beholds a rainbow in the sky," may his spirit not be touched to devotion by some hallowed season of prayer? Shall we say that Mr. Burroughs in the wood, watching the nuthatch, is getting an experimental knowledge, but that Isaiah in the temple, seeing the awakening of the soul, is not getting an experimental knowledge? All things must be known according to the nature of their appeal. A sunset cannot appeal to the sense of taste, nor the flavor of a peach to the eye. A mathematical formula makes no appeal to the conscience. One may not come to know a scientific truth by a religious experience, nor a spiritual truth by a scientific analysis. Religion has its laboratory test. It offers its proofs. It verifies its claims. It is quite as possible to explore the spiritual as it is to explore the natural. The one is as real as the other, and the twain are not divided. Doubtless the only divid-

ing line between the natural and the supernatural is at the limit of finite understanding. To us the natural is miraculous, and to God the supernatural is simple. A great botanist saw the unfolding of a rose, and beheld God passing by. And a Moses watched the stirring of God within the soul, and he glorified the bush.

Our naturist friend may call his "a faith founded upon a rock," but as he informs us the rock is as evanescent as an autumn leaf. *Sic transit gloria mundi.* His hope for immortality is in being diffused, his body into the elements, his influence into the lives of those who come after him. Foretokens of such immortality are perhaps apparent in his diffuseness of style. The incentive may be sufficient for Mr. Burroughs, who has doubtless received from godly forbears the virtuous urge; but would it mean much to the average man?

"If the wages of Virtue be dust,
Would she have heart to endure for the life of the worm and the fly?"

Surely any man who can build his faith around a Neanderthal man, an anthropoid ape, and the Darwinian myth of a missing link, without misgivings; and yet can think of the Divine Man as only a creation of myth and legend, makes up in credulity what is wanting in faith. We shall rather choose to establish our faith upon the Rock of Ages, building our lives as living stones into the temple of His indwelling, "while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." Then shall we look up and say with the psalmist,

"Thy years are throughout all generations.
Of old didst thou lay the foundations of the earth,
And the heavens are the work of thy hands.
They shall perish, but thou shalt endure:
Yea, all of them shall wax old like a garment;
As a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed;
But thou art the same,
And thy years shall have no end.
The children of thy servants shall continue,
And their seed shall be established before thee." (Psa. 102.)

THE MYSTERY OF THE RESURRECTION

GUSTAVUS E. HILLER

Lafayette, Ind.

TAKEN in their fullest sense, the terms redemption and resurrection are of identical import, each describing the same divine undertaking and work from a different angle. Redemption is the process of our salvation through Christ of which our spiritual awakening is the beginning and of which the resurrection of the body, the glorified body, will be the consummation.

The fundamental reason why we believe in the future transformation of ourselves and the world is because the present state of the human race demands it, and the deeps of our souls cry out after it, just as Job did in his day; and it is in answer to this cry that Christ makes his great proclamation: "I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly." (John 10. 10.)

After centuries of unceasing discussion "the origin of evil" still remains a riddle. But, however we may understand it, we all agree with Paul in saying: "For all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God"—a glory with which we should of right be invested, as having been created in the divine image. This earthly creation is so full of wickedness, vileness, suffering and dying, that it unceasingly shudders, and no truly awakened soul could possibly be satisfied with such an existence as this if it were not for the hope based upon the promised resurrection. The logic of all history demands this hope, and it is for this reason that the gospel of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which could fittingly bear the title "The Book of Hope," appeals so mightily to all human beings who realize their need.

And it is also in keeping with this consciousness of our need that the abounding life is to be the free gift of God's grace. The gospel offers every sinful mortal full participation in the resurrection life on the sole condition that he repents and believes in the Lord Jesus Christ. The hope of the coming glory does not

grow out of the Christian life, as some seem to teach, but, on the contrary, the true Christian life results from "God the Father having begotten us again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead," as Peter tells us in his first epistle. Death is wages paid us for our sin; but when it comes to eternal life in Christ Jesus, and the hope of such a life, it "is the free gift of God." (Romans 6. 23.) Therefore John also, speaking of the resurrection of God's children, in the third chapter of his first epistle, says: "Every one that hath this hope purifieth himself even as he is pure."

But just as the logic of our need calls for a redemption that shall culminate in a resurrection unto eternal life, in an immortal body, it also demands such a Mediator as Jesus Christ is represented to be; it requires for the builder of the resurrection world—for the author and finisher of our faith—one who participated both in the eternal life of God and in the mortality of those whom he is to redeem and make partakers of immortality. He must be one of us that he may transmit God's life to us, and he must be possessed of divine life by nature that he may have it to give. In this necessity lies the wondrous secret of the cross. "For it became him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons to glory, to make the author of their salvation perfect through sufferings."

Potentially our redemption was established, and our future resurrection fully pledged and guaranteed, when the Son of God died and rose again; for let us ever keep in mind that our redemption is wholly a sovereign undertaking of God, and absolutely the free gift of God's grace, although to enter into a participation in this redemption we must meet the conditions laid down for us in the gospel. It is on the ground of this character of the redemptive plan, that the Scriptures give mankind the hope of a general resurrection, and promise that, in the final consummation of Christ's redeeming work, death shall be completely vanquished. When we speak of a general resurrection, we mean even more than the hope that all men shall be given some sort of an immortality, but it implies that the entire earthly creation shall, with humanity, be transformed and glorified.

There are many passages in the Bible by which the doctrine of conditional immortality is refuted. But I will here refer only to a statement by Paul in his tremendous resurrection chapter (1 Cor. 15), which I consider the key-note with which all our teaching should be made to harmonize. There, as the master builder that he was, he lays down the mighty foundation stone: "As in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made alive." When you take into consideration the meaning of the phrases "in Adam" and "in Christ," this statement becomes so simple and clear, so definite and comprehensive that there is absolutely no room left for caviling; and it also makes clear the meaning of the shout of John the Baptist by the Jordan: "Behold the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world," as also the proclamation of Jesus: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

But, as already was intimated, the idea of a general resurrection implies and requires the rehabilitation and glorification of the entire earthly creation. John, on Patmos, hears the risen and glorified Christ say: "Behold, I make all things new," and Paul, the apostolic theologian, enlarges on this thought in Romans 8, when he says: "For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God." The thought here and elsewhere obviously is this, that the earthly creation being our home (in the profoundest sense) it shares our fate with us now in the vanity to which it is made subject, and that it will also have a share in our redemption and glorification, and that as we now are surrounded by material conditions that befit our fallen nature, these material environments must be changed so as to be adapted to our transformed state.

But now it must be remembered that, according to the Scriptures, the divine drama that is finally to result in such glorious consummation (triumphantly justifying all the ways of God) will proceed by certain progressive acts and stages, until, as Paul says, "God will be all and in all." This is what gives the so-

called first resurrection, as foretold in the Scriptures, its great significance to the followers of Christ; for, when considered in its relation to the entire plan or counsel of God, it leaves room to surmise, at least, that it will be followed by several successive resurrections before Christ shall have completely destroyed death, the last enemy. At any rate, the more we contemplate what the Bible actually teaches concerning the last things, the more will the horizon of our hope be enlarged, and we will come to realize how magnificently true it is that, as the heavens are higher than the earth, the thoughts of God and the ways of God are higher than our thoughts and our ways.

But while many things in New Testament prophecy are seen only in dim outline (as a prophetic penumbra, so to speak), the first resurrection, or the completion and glorification of Christ's mystic body, the church, is described very definitely and vividly. And there is very strong reason for this; for that is the event which concerns the believers, to whom the New Testament writings are directed especially, it might be said exclusively. In the 15th chapter of First Corinthians, verses 20-28, where Paul gives us a telescopic view into the developments of the future, such as we have nowhere else (not even in the Apocalypse), Paul says, verses 22 and 23: "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made alive. *But each in his own order:* Christ the firstfruits; then they that are Christ's at his coming (parousia)." In 1 Thess. 4, speaking of the same event, the apostle says: "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them that have fallen asleep in (or through) Jesus will God bring with him. For this we say to you by the word of the Lord, that we that are alive at the coming (parousia) of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are fallen asleep," etc. What is distinctly brought out in these and other passages is that the parousia of the Lord and the resurrection of his own go together, that it will be a family event, so to speak, distinct from the judgment of the world and the general resurrection, which will be carried out in their proper order.

This first resurrection—or *rapture* of Christ's Church, as some speak of it—(I am not tied to any particular nomenclature, either post or premillennial) is always placed before Christ's fol-

lowers as an incentive to faithfulness and holy living, so they may be found worthy of taking part in its bliss, since this is the prize for which they are running the race. Thus Jesus, in arguing with the Sadducees concerning the resurrection, speaks of such as "are worthy of taking part in the resurrection of the just." The author of Hebrews admonishes his readers to strive after "the sanctification without which no man shall see the Lord." Paul tells us in Philippians 3 that he himself "suffered the loss of all things, counting them as refuse," that he might gain Christ, and that he might "attain unto the resurrection from among the dead"; and at the end of the same chapter we have that triumphant outburst of his: "For our citizenship is in heaven; whence we also wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things to himself."

This last quoted passage leads to the final question which I shall discuss in this paper, namely, that which concerns the resurrection body. To those who, though professing to believe in the gospel, yet argue against a bodily resurrection, as too materialistic a conception, we might respond in the words spoken by Jesus to the Sadducees: "Is it not for this cause that ye err, that ye know not the Scriptures, nor the power of God?"

That our modern psychologists, who base their views on physical science, should not know what to do with such an idea as the resurrection of the body, is not at all surprising, since their science is inherently unable to penetrate the mystery that shrouds the relations existing between soul and body, and faith offers the only light that can guide us in this borderland of the unseen. Only by faith can we "know the Scriptures, and the power of God." But how shall we explain the divergencies that appear among the theologians of the Christian church in their discussions of this most interesting question arising from the utterance of the apostolic creed: "I believe in the resurrection of the body"? My own view is that their principal difficulties, with this as with many other questions, have grown out of the fact that their minds were biased by the psychological teachings of the ancient Greek phil-

osophers and were thus prevented from seeing the meaning of the biblical writers who thought in the terms of Hebrew psychology.

While the writers of the Old Testament, as well as those of the New Testament, distinguish between soul and body, they never speak as though the soul could exist without a body. To their minds man is essentially soul and essentially body (sometimes they even speak of him as essentially spirit, soul and body); they speak of the functions and acts of the soul as being at the same time bodily acts, and they even speak of the various internal organs of the body as also being the organs of various psychological operations. Any one who will take a complete Bible concordance and look up the passages ascribing certain psychological functions to the heart, the liver, the reins, the bowels, etc., will soon convince himself of what has just been stated.

Keeping this in view, we will not be surprised that Paul, who accepts the authority of the Old Testament writings with the same implicitness as our Lord himself, speaks of the resurrection as "the redemption of our body"; that, in other words, to Paul's mind the redemption of the soul was unthinkable without the redemption of the body.

It is most remarkable that this very question of how the human soul is related to the body, and whether there is such a thing as a soul as distinct from the body, has been the main storm center around which recent philosophical discussions revolved; and those who are somewhat conversant with the drift of the latest psychological thought can easily see that its prevailing current drives us back to the psychology of the Bible, in which the human being is assumed to be essentially soul and also essentially body.

But once having accepted, by faith, the teachings of all the Scriptures ("which cannot be broken") we readily see that there cannot be a real immortality without a resurrection body, and why Paul says in Romans 8: "We ourselves also, who have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for our adoption, namely, the redemption of our body." When a Roman nobleman saw fit to adopt one of his bondservants into his family as a son, the process of adoption was completed by

receiving him into the apartments of the family and investing him with all the insignia and prerogatives of sonship, as they were due to the son of any other Roman of noble birth. In this sense the apostle speaks of the resurrection as the completion of our adoption as children of God, for we will then be received into the place where Christ is and invested with his glory.

However, we can hardly help having our attention especially arrested here by the expression, "the redemption of our body." This expression, and the one quoted from Philippians, "who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation," are complements of one another, and seem to imply that the resurrection body will be the identical body we now have, except that it is redeemed from the corruption with which it is infested and brought into "conformity with the body of his glory." The same meaning is apparent in 1 Cor. 15. 44: "It is sown a natural body (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*); and is raised a spiritual body" (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*)—the natural or psychical body, which is sown, is raised a spiritual body; i. e., is clothed upon with spiritual glory.

But the conception of identity becomes very puzzling, not to say absurd, to the common mind, when, after death, it sees the entire body, with all its parts, pass into the process of decay and decomposition which continues until every particle of all its chemical constituents has passed back to its original state to be again rebuilt, perhaps into other bodies, just as it happens to the carcass of any other animal. How can one speak of the redemption of a body that is so completely annihilated, and how can you speak of such a body as the same body which will be raised at Christ's coming?

The model of Christ's resurrection will not serve us to solve this perplexity. For though he died and was buried, "according to the Scriptures," his body was not decomposed, but was revivified on the third day. This was in fulfillment of David's prophecy concerning the Messiah, as quoted by Peter in his Pentecost sermon, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades, neither wilt thou give thy Holy One to see corruption." There will, of course, be a greater similarity with the resurrection of Jesus in the case of those saints who will be alive when Jesus comes, for their bodies

will be changed "in the twinkling of an eye," taking on immortality —and no real Christian doubts God's power to do this. But with the dead it is a different matter. And yet we are confronted with the various passages which seem to identify the resurrection bodies of all Christians with the bodies they possessed while in the earthly life.

To overcome the difficulty thus presented to our minds, some theologians have resorted to the argument that no matter what may have become of the chemical components of the Christian's body in death, God is able to bring them together again, and build them into the resurrection body when the proper time comes. But, waiving all other objections that could be made to this rather peculiar notion, it fails to meet the difficulty for the simple reason that chemical dust scattered to the four winds, and reabsorbed by several new organisms, can no longer be called a body.

To my mind the solution is found in holding fast the Scriptural idea that man is essentially soul, and also essentially body, that he not only has, but *is*, a psychical body. Accordingly the apostle assumes an inward essential body which is one with the soul, and of a psychical substance which is too subtle to be perceived by our physical senses, but which we are nevertheless conscious of possessing, for he tells us that "the first man, Adam, was made a living soul." This psychical body, which is our inner self, is burdened by the corruptible animal body, consisting of "flesh and blood which cannot inherit the kingdom of God." If this view is correct, the sayings that we "wait for the redemption of our body," and that our Saviour "will fashion anew the body of our humiliation" become entirely intelligible and take on a wondrously significant import.

That this is the meaning of the apostle is made conclusive to my mind by what he says in the beginning of the 5th chapter in 2 Corinthians, where he says: "For we know that if the earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For verily in this [the earthly, mortal tabernacle] we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven, if so be that being clothed upon we shall not be found naked. For in-

deed we that are in this tabernacle do groan being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life." According to this view I can say: "I know myself to be essentially a body; but this inner psychical body of mine is clothed with an outer organism which is of the earth, and enables me to manifest myself to others who also have sensuous bodies, but I desire to exchange this earthly, corruptible organism for a heavenly organism by which I shall become manifest in glory. But if I lay aside my earthly body in death, I with my inner body, which is of psychical substance, will continue to exist, 'hidden with Christ in God; but when Christ, who is our life, shall be manifested, then I also shall be manifested with him in glory.'"

The very word glory presumes a bodily existence, since glory is the manifestation of hidden worth, and such manifestation is impossible without corporeity. An unenlightened and erring rationalism opposes spirituality to corporeity. God's word does not. God's word promises us a spiritual body, and the deep thinking Oetinger was right when he said: "Leiblichkeit ist das Ende der Wege Gottes"—*Corporeity is the goal of all the doings of God.*

THE ÆSTHETIC ASPECTS OF PURITANISM

FRED SMITH
Cornwall, Conn.

SPEAKING in a general way, one may say that the average man seems to have overlooked the fact that between the spirit of Greek art and the spirit of the Puritan there exists a close relationship. It is a bold thing to declare the existence of such a relationship. Men have been educated to the belief that the Puritan was rigidly narrow, antagonistic to art, and iconoclastic toward the church. It is therefore necessary for one who dares to align "the glory that was Greece" to the "ugliness" that was Puritanism to first of all produce the evidence that the Puritan had any relation to or appreciation of art. This evidence I propose to produce.

At the outset it is necessary to say that Puritanism has long suffered under a severe handicap in that the recording of its history for two hundred years was left largely to its opponents. Consequently, the Puritan was caricatured rather than portrayed. It is for us to get at the facts. Let it be granted at once that many things distressing to the lover of art took place during the century when Puritanism came to power. During the dolor days of the Puritan period (1560-1660) the churches of England and their ornaments suffered much. Our point is, not that these things did not happen, but that the blame for them has too readily been placed upon the shoulders of the Puritan. Through prejudice, and sometimes through ignorance, he has been made the scapegoat for sins of which he was innocent.

The proof of this is found by turning our attention to some things which happened in the generation which preceded the rise of Puritanism. The strange manner of the incoming of Protestantism into England should never be forgotten if we are to understand Puritanism aright. It is one of the strange paradoxes of history that the Reformation of Europe was made legally and politically possible in England by one who was no child of the Reformation. Upon the throne of England in Luther's time sat the promiscuous

King Henry the Eighth. Earning the title of "Defender of the Faith" from a not too discerning Pope, he undertook eleven years later to declare himself as "The Supreme Head of the Church of England" that he might have the more liberty to pursue his immoral amours while at the same time securing his political plans. Ably seconding him in these designs was the redoubtable but despicable Thomas Cromwell. Neither Henry nor Cromwell had any sympathy with the spiritual aspects of the Reformation; to them it was a political instrumentality for the furtherance of their schemes. Puritanism was the reaction against this sinister thing that appropriated to itself a spiritual name.

Here we have need to take note of a very significant fact. Puritanism did not take upon itself the nature of a movement until about the year 1560, and did not become a predominant power until many years later. Yet it was in the years preceding the rise of Puritanism that so many of the art treasures of England suffered such irremediable injury. The years lying between 1530-1540, according to the estimate of John Richard Green, deserve "the name which men have given to the rule of Robespierre. It was the English Terror." At the death of Cromwell in 1540, half the wealth of the church went to swell the Royal Treasury and the other half lay at the king's mercy. Many of the lesser monasteries were suppressed, the abbots of many of the larger ones being beheaded. The roving commissioners of Henry were no Puritans. It is concerning these, and not the Puritan, that we read: "The roughness, insolence, and extortion of these men drove the whole monastic body to despair. Their servants rode along the road with copes for doublets and tunicles for saddlecloths, and scattered panic among the larger houses which they left." Let it be granted that there were those who, having a fanatical belief in the principles of the Reformation, found such a time as this a splendid one in which to exercise their beliefs forcefully and iconoclastically, it must still be remembered that these were of the minority. In these early days of the despoiling of the church there were few who could be called Puritan, even in spirit. The iconoclastic fervor of the time had other roots than that of Puritanism. As a matter of fact the Puritan was not yet known to history even by name.

The vandalism of the time is indicated by the fact that in the reign of Henry alone six hundred and sixteen monasteries were suppressed. Their fate may be surmised from that which befell the abbey at Whalley in the county of Lancashire. Within three months of the execution of the abbot in 1537 the abbey was sold. A few years later an attempt was made by Queen Mary to reinstate the abbeys, with the result that, in almost every instance, the lay owners proceeded to dismantle them. Referring to these days, Fuller tells us that "the edifices of abbeys, which were still entire, looked lovingly again on their ancient owners: in prevention whereof, such as possessed them for the present, plucked out their eyes, by leveling them to the ground, and shaving from them, as much as they could all abbey characters." This vandalism it seems impossible to charge against the Puritan. I have often thought that a better knowledge of the chronology of this period on the part of those who condemn the Puritan would perhaps help to a better opinion of him. This fact finds further support if we turn again to the aforementioned Whalley Abbey. For some reason this particular abbey escaped the hands of the destroyers in the reign of Mary, and (what is more important) neither was it destroyed during the whole Puritan period. What did happen, however, was this: immediately following the Puritan period much destructive work was done on the abbey and the adjoining church. Now note the reason; the then owner of the abbey being engaged in some building operation elsewhere found it convenient to desecrate the abbey rather than to have stone quarried elsewhere. In other words, in this particular case the Puritan was absolutely innocent. Careful investigation need only be made of many other cases of supposed Puritanical vandalism to find results which are equally creditable to the Puritan.

While much of the vandalism of the sixteenth century can be traced to other sources than that of Puritanism I do not say that the Puritan can be exonerated in every particular. This cannot be done. Particularly in the later Puritanism there are incidents of vandalism which can be charged against the Puritan; but even this is no evidence that the Puritan *per se* was maliciously antagonistic to art. The later Puritans had become soured by persecution,

they had been driven from the church and harried by the government, and, when the day of their power came, they remembered these things in a way that was discreditable to themselves and the faith they professed. On the other hand it must be granted that reformations cannot take place without some readjustments, and readjustments often involve the discarding, if not even the destruction of many things beloved for "old-times' sake."

The reforming tendencies of the Puritan sprang from no antipathy to æsthetics, but from an appreciation of ethics. The Puritan did not start out in an iconoclastic temper to destroy the ornaments of the church. He loved the church and her devout ways, but this did not blind him to the fact that much in the church was serving no holy purpose, but was rather serving as the mask of insincerity. And "he would not lift up his soul unto vanity." Therefore did he seek to reform the church from within. How influential the Puritan spirit was is seen in the findings of the Convocation called in 1562 to consider the revising of the church ritual. From this convocation the known Puritans were excluded; and yet, when the vote came to be taken, all the demands of the Puritans were accepted. Unfortunately, when the votes of the absentees were counted, this judgment was reversed. The Puritan was a seeker after reality, therefore was he a reformer of the church of his time. The church was superficial; he desired to be spiritual.

The nature of the Puritan and of Puritanism can well be seen from the two following quotations. Andrew Fuller thus describes the Puritan: "In the mouth of a drunkard he is a Puritan who refuseth his cups; in the mouth of a swearer he which feareth an oath; in the mouth of a libertine he who makes any scruple of common sins." In this description the ethical virility of the Puritan rather than any æsthetic antipathy seems to overshadow everything else. The lack of this antipathy is also manifest in the description of Puritanism as given in the words of "the judicious Hooker." He says: "Let not any imagine that the bare and naked difference of a few ceremonies could have kindled so much fire or caused it to flame so long, but that the parties which herein have labored so mightily for changes, and (as they say) for reformation,

had somewhat more than this mark to aim at." The fundamental tenet of Puritanism is reality. He detested "a professional religion." The case for the whole movement of Puritanism is summed up succinctly in the words of Governor Winthrop when, speaking of the Pilgrims, he says: "The Pilgrims separated themselves not from the church but from its corruptions." The Puritan saw art desecrated in and by the church, and he resolved that that thing should not be. For this resolve he had to pay a great price. They who conclude that the bare and plain meeting house of the Puritan was the acrid fruit of an anti-æsthetic temperament have made a mistake with regard to the root. Certain sinister influences were playing on the organized religious life of the time which made it imperative for the Puritan to make a temporary sacrifice of the ornamental, and even of the symbolical, in his ecclesiastical life.

Seeing this, some have concluded that the Puritan was thereby a despiser of the beautiful. A more unjust conclusion it is difficult to make. What is more in accordance with the facts is that in the secular life of the time the artistic side of life was largely fostered by those who bore the despised name of Puritan. Green, the historian, has made us familiar with the charming home life of the Puritan Colonel Hutchinson, whose artistic taste showed itself in a critical love of "paintings, sculpture, and all liberal arts" as well as in the fact that he had "a great love for music." The conclusion of Wakeman in his little book on The Puritan and the Church, that "the best, the purest, the noblest of Elizabethan heroes were Puritans," is certainly comprehensive enough, yet not one whit behind the truth. Even the later Puritanism could produce a poet who could write

> "the high embowered roof
> With antic pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light.
> . . . . . .
> Dissolve me into ecstasies
> And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

The later Puritans brought upon themselves the harsh criticism of a later day by their separation from certain forms of art, particularly the dramatic art and the stage, but this was because "they

regarded these forms of art as hopelessly corrupt and whose moral recovery they consequently tended to disregard."[1] They who know the condition of the stage in the seventeenth century will not blame the Puritan too much for this rather sweeping conclusion. What is plainly evident by this time is that, in the main, the Puritan was distinctly human in his æsthetic outlook, and that the picture which portrays him as a gloomy, rigid, anti-æsthetic fanatic is not according to the facts.

It now remains for us to notice those influences which were playing on the ecclesiastical life of the time which have tended to reveal the Puritan in an unfavorable light with regard to the relation of art to the church. If the Puritan was not a hater of art, then, it can well be asked, what led him to build such bare, plain meeting houses wherein to worship? One need seek no reason other than that of stern necessity. Noble, massive buildings cannot be built by a people who are being persecuted by the state. The Puritan had no monopoly of wealth; neither was he favored with large endowments from the state treasury. He had to build as he could. There was also the unquestionable influence of antiecclesiasticism. The vestments of the clergy were to the Puritan "rags of popery." Not for him or a true faith were these things. In addition to this there had come into the life of the Puritan the influence of the Renaissance as well as of the Reformation. The recognition of this fact is explanatory of much. Mediævalism found its strength in the emotions; the Renaissance was a rebirth of the intellect. The Puritan came to truth through logic; the Catholic, through symbols. Logic took precedence of beauty. The Puritan could not maintain the Gothic tradition in architecture. Puritanism was too severely intellectual to retain so emotional a type of building. Thus it broke with the Gothic tradition, and produced a type which, while it was less lovely than the Gothic, was at least definitely logical.

This does not mean that the plain, bare meeting house of the Puritan was devoid of æsthetic value; and it is certainly true to say that it was not built to spite art. Rather were these buildings the expression of a deep underlying principle which had found its

[1] Puritanism and Art. Crouch.

fullest exemplification centuries before in Greek art. Superficially there is little resemblance between a Doric temple and a Puritan meeting house; fundamentally they have many points of contact. It has been well said that "the genius of Greek art lies in the fact that it makes beauty come to express truth." Their art was æsthetic enough to make them ethical. Conversely the Puritan sought to show that there can be no real beauty apart from truth. Dowden cynically tells us that "Puritanism is incapable of producing a great art," evidently blind to the fact that it has been the incentive of many. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, the eminent art critic, has a word to say here in this connection that is worth noting. Speaking of the Scotch Puritans he says: "In proportion to their numbers they are the most distinguished little people since the days of the ancient Athenians and the most educated of modern races. All the industries are at home in Glasgow, all the fine arts in Edinburgh, and as for literature, it is everywhere."[1]

The Puritan stood for the elemental fact that truth is fundamental to life. He won his point, and since his day life in all its manifold phases has been enriched because of this victory. The Puritan "was guided by the unerring law of Greek art and of eternal beauty, which lays more stress on form that on decoration."[2] This is evident in the severe yet picturesque dress of the Puritan as it later became manifest in the dignified simplicity of the Georgian (Colonial) type of architecture. The Puritan meeting house of the seventeenth century bore testimony to the stern severity and rectitude of the Christian life. The church was encumbered with many irrelevancies. It had become a sarcophagus instead of a sanctuary. It has been said that "to think deeply is to be delivered from many irrelevancies," and the Puritan was a deep thinker. It may be that for the time being he was too severe in the restraints which he placed on social worship, yet even in this he was but giving emphatic expression to the Grecian spirit which "adores all that is clearest and clearcut and detests all that is in the least vague and indeterminate." Like Greek art, Puritanism rested its case upon the simplicity of truth.

[1] The French and English. Page 437.
[2] The Pilgrims and Their Three Homes. Griffis. Page 271

JOHN WOOLMAN—TWO HUNDRED YEARS AFTER

Charles Daniel Brodhead

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

"Who is John Woolman?" was the half embarrassed question of many intellectuals when several years ago his "Journal" was put among the immortal Harvard Classics.

Two hundred years ago this last August, in Northampton, Burlington County, New Jersey, was born one of the two Saint Johns of the eighteenth century. Both of these men of God would have hesitated to call themselves saints, but the world has long since recognized the fitness of that title for the one cradled in England seventeen years previously—John Wesley, son of an Epworth parsonage, founder of Methodism, apostle to his parish, "the world." John Woolman, younger and more obscure, likewise merits this tribute of Protestant canonization, although the highest honor indeed, for a Friend, is to be a free mouth-piece and messenger of the Spirit, a veritable prophet of the Lord; and such was he.

Not at all a self-advertiser, John Woolman has failed to find his true rank as an author of a minor classic in devotional literature and a pioneer in the kingdom of God. Highly revered by the Society of Friends, to which he belonged, this fountain-source of spiritual inspiration has been too largely forgotten by other communions. On the two hundredth anniversary of his birth, it is appropriate to ponder over the secret of this illuminating life.

"Get the writings of John Woolman by heart." This recommendation from Charles Lamb should be authoritative enough to lure the lover of good literature and Christian leadership to delve into the Everyman's edition of his "Journal," or better still the Whittier edition, with its admirable introduction by the Quaker poet, who caught his spirit and message in that beautiful prayer:

> "Thy litanies, sweet offices
> Of love and gratitude;
> Thy sacramental liturgies,
> The joy of doing good."

Henry Crabb Robinson, the cultured and intimate friend of Goethe, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, relates in his Diary how he feared that a certain sermon from his friend, Edward Irving, would not be conducive to belief, and then declares: "How different this is from John Woolman's Journal I have been reading at the same time! perfect gem! His is a *schöne Seele,* a beautiful soul. . . . His religion was love. His whole existence, and all his passions were love. . . . His Christianity is most inviting—it is fascinating!" And so it is.

Convictions rather than events molded the life and writings of John Woolman. His "Journal" reads more like the "Confessions of St. Augustine," whose heart was restless until it reposed in divine peace, than the "Journal of John Wesley," that other "classic man," as Dr. Joseph Fort Newton calls him in that stimulating monograph: "Wesley and Woolman." Yet both were literally preachers of the "Sermon on the Mount." They constantly traveled on horseback from place to place. Woolman went south as far as North Carolina and north to New England, dying in 1772 at York after a stormy voyage to England. Wesley's "Journal," however, dealing as it does with a half century of itinerancy wherein he preached over 40,000 times, "certainly does not lack much," as my beloved teacher, Caleb Thomas Winchester, has pointed out, "of being the most interesting social document of the eighteenth century, for it is not so much the story of Wesley's inner life as the record of his dealings with other people." With practically no such excitement as this, Woolman's narrative, therefore, grips not so much by its social contacts, keen and valuable as they are, as by its spiritual autobiography. "I have often felt a motion of love," opens the first chapter, "to leave some hints in writing of my experience of the goodness of God, and now in the thirty-sixth year of my age, I begin this work." Thus the beautiful confessional stands revealed.

In mere outward happenings Woolman's life is a tale quickly told. Brought up by pious West Jersey parents, at eighteen he was "delivered from all those vanities which so ensnared" him, and he "felt the power of Christ prevail over selfish desires." At first a clerk and then a tailor at Mt. Holly, he finally paid less and less

attention to business, invested his life in the ministry of the Friends, and traveled to upbuild their spiritual life and overthrow slavery. Home ties had come through his marriage at twenty-nine to "a well-inclined damsel," as he called his Sarah Ellis, but like Francis Asbury he was really a "prophet of the long road," clear up to the end of his earthly trail.

Yet such a short story is not all void of achievement, for wherever this holy apostle went he left a mighty impress for righteousness. In these days, when we boast of civil and religious liberty, and men are striving for industrial freedom, it is well to remember that such a power as John Woolman refused to regard slavery as one of the things to be taken for granted. He became a pioneer abolitionist in the very same epoch that "Edmund Burke, statesman of the first magnitude," as Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick reminds us, "basing his judgment on the established experience of the race, can call slavery an incurable evil and say that there is not the slightest hope that trade in slaves can be stopped." This was even a whole century ahead of the thirteen colonies, made and later saved as the United States, seeing their way clear to have their President issue an Emancipation Proclamation. Take no crown from the head of an Abraham Lincoln, the pen of a Harriet Beecher Stowe, or the voice of a Wendell Phillips, a William Lloyd Garrison, or a Henry Ward Beecher, but forget not the luster of the name of John Woolman, brother to man and forerunner of liberty!

Like Wisdom, his ways were ways of pleasantness, and all his paths were peace. His was the technique not of uproar and vehemence but of persuasive gentleness. He sought the victory not of himself but of Truth. Full well did he follow the judgment of that earlier social reformer, Isaiah: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." Three avenues of approach were open to him. If on his travels John Wesley were a reader, and he always went with a book, then John Woolman was a conversationalist, for he always went with a companion. This was golden time for the sowing of his seed, and he was a wise planter, being familar with the Scriptures, acquainted with the wretchedness of slaves, and mindful of his high calling. Another approach in his itinerat-

ing came through his entertainment at the homes of the Friends. Here, if anywhere, his splendid courtesy showed itself in his literal fulfillment of the apostolic injunction: "The Lord's servant must not strive, but be gentle towards all, apt to teach, forbearing, in meekness correcting them that oppose themselves." Most of those homes where he stopped in the South had slaves, and winning a way for his cause required the utmost tact, especially in the delicate matter of remuneration, which he thus describes: "When I expected soon to leave a Friend's house where I had entertainment, if I believed that I should not keep clear from the gain of oppression without leaving money, I spoke to one of the heads of the family privately, and desired them to accept of those pieces of silver, and give them to such of the negroes as they believed would make the most use of them; and at other times I gave them to the negroes myself, as the way looked clearest to me. Before I came out, I had provided a large number of small pieces for this purpose, and thus offering them to some who appeared to be wealthy was a trial both to me and them. But the fear of the Lord so covered me at times that my way was made easier than I expected; and few, if any, manifested any resentment at the offer, and most of them, after some conversation, accepted of them."

But the most fruitful approach for John Woolman in his emancipating task lay in that place where Charles Lamb inimitably said one can "enjoy at once solitude and society"—the Quaker Meeting. Here he was completely at home in the solemn stillness of waiting souls, humble before the pure whiteness of the glory of the Lord, open to the still, small voice of the Spirit, mindful of the divine compassion for the multitudes. After he had listened for the Truth, and the burden of his message came upon him, he would declare the counsel of the Almighty against slavery of soul or body for the children of His love. Or perhaps his reproof and admonition would be delivered at a stated Monthly, Quarterly or Yearly Meeting, when special queries were asked, as at the Virginia Yearly Meeting. Such visitation was, indeed, time well spent for the kingdom.

Rightly, therefore, has a present-day writer called John Woolman "a prophet of the new social order." This is a strange though

apt title for a man born two hundred years ago. His whole life was devoted to that unseen but unconquerable divine kingdom on earth, of love and righteousness and service. His last, death-bed prayer was, in fact, the deep aspiration of his whole life: "Thou hast taught me to follow Him, and I said, 'Thy will, O Father, be done!'" "An embodied conscience" is an accurate description of this servant of mankind. He saw the economic as well as spiritual fallacy of trade in luxuries, preferring "to buy and sell things really useful." Strong drink was likewise condemned, and this in an age when even church records had entries for spirituous liquors! Earning money from the writing of wills, he early refused any that dealt with slaves. A vivid sense of human solidarity made brotherhood seem real to him. So tender that he would not ride behind horses that were being violently lashed, he felt very acutely the sorrows and sufferings of his fellow-men. Love was his dream, his goal, his way, his truth, his very life.

How then can such a man be accounted for? One answer suggests gratitude: "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." Verily should we be more thankful for the great souls in every branch of our Christian fellowship who have mightily increased and loyally handed down untarnished our noble heritage of faith. Yet that leaves unsolved the puzzling power of personality. A more pregnant answer points not only from heaven earth-ward but from earth heaven-ward. John Woolman, writer and prophet, was, above all else, a man of God. Greater than the keenness of his inward look toward himself, and larger than the compassion of his outward look toward his brethren, was the longing of his upward look toward his Heavenly Father. He knew that he had a soul and cared for it, perfecting it, strengthening it, establishing it. By that paradox of the blessed, he held fast to it and yet gave it away to his younger brothers, who used it freely for their lifeblood, and to his Elder Brother, who kept it freely by his lifeblood. As with the Pilgrim Fathers, God was in all his thoughts, words, and deeds. God, love, repentance, humility, gratitude, obedience, the kingdom of heaven—these eternal verities are the key words that unlock his secret. Whittier was exactly right in putting on the title-page of his edition of the "Journal" this verse from Isaiah: "The work of

righteousness shall be peace: and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance forever"; for Woolman knew the Scriptures for both comfort and counsel. To be sure, if the Revised Version had appeared in his life-time, he would not have misunderstood Exodus 23. 8, "And thou shalt take no bribe; for a bribe blindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the words of the righteous." He mistook "gift" in the King James' for "bribe" in the Revised and thereby through his strict literalism refused the gift of free entertainment on his travels. Fifty-five Biblical references are to be found in his "Journal," intermingled with his Scriptural ideas, ideals, language, and atmosphere. He was a man of one Book, from which he drew insight into life's problems, courage for life's duties, sympathy in life's troubles. With the familiar Book went also the frequent place of prayer, which meant everywhere. Unceasingly in sincerest gratitude, adoration, aspiration, penitence, petition, and intercession, he found his strength changed, his clouds dispelled, his joy made full. How wondrously he realized that "the place of prayer is a precious habitation: the trumpet is sounded; the call goes forth to the church that she gather to the place of pure, inward prayer; and her habitation is safe." Thus stands forth the open secret of his life: his deep religious experience. John Woolman constantly lived in the holy presence of God, abided in the matchless love of God, and labored in the glorious will of God. In him is seen the solemn shrine of sacred sainthood.

These are days apparently far distant from this Quaker itinerant. No longer do we write in his pious phraseology, hesitate about his strange scruples, or fight in his bold battles. Nevertheless, his truth of fullest freedom bears mightily upon us, his banner of perfect love waves beautifully over us, his spirit of Christian brotherhood breathes gloriously within us. May the birthday of John Woolman bring to a new birth his rare qualities of the soul, his rich experience of the Eternal, his real love of the kingdom!

As for the rest, no more fitting words could be expressed than those of Whittier in finishing his introduction to the "Journal" of John Woolman: "In bringing to a close this paper, the preparation of which has been a labor of love, I am not unmindful of the wide difference between the appreciation of a pure and true life

and the living of it, and am willing to own that in delineating a character of such moral and spiritual symmetry I have felt something like rebuke from my own words. I have been awed and solemnized by the presence of a serene and beautiful spirit redeemed of the Lord from all selfishness, and I have been made thankful for the ability to recognize and the disposition to love him. I leave the book with its readers. They may possibly make large deductions from my estimate of the author; they may not see the importance of all his self-denying testimonies; they may question some of his scruples, and smile over passages of childlike simplicity; but I believe that they will all agree in thanking me for introducing them to the Journal of John Woolman."

IN PRAISE OF POVERTY

Westholme Smith

She is the destruction of the poor. She is Cassandra, crying to the rich. She is Rachel; her voice is heard in Ramah, weeping for her children, for they are not. (A. D. 1919.)

These are not my texts. These words are set for signs. Let him beware who praises her. She is the austere sister, with naked breasts, who follows Duty. They had a Roman mother.

She has refined races like the northern Hellenes—the Scots. She has been flint to small lands, hewing deity from Greek rock. Her bitter bread saved Spain when the galleons failed. She sowed granite in the Pilgrim's blood.

Poverty is a quality of the soul. She is a vestal, desperate of her honor, the chaste unity of life. She is sincere like sacred death. She is the serene light, the single eye in which the sphere of reality lies steady and whole. She is the two-edged sword, the divider between the soul and its dimness, the cleanser of vision. She is the last sanity.

I will build her an altar of stone on a clean hill, on the star-touching top, for the burning of a sacrifice. Let it be all planetary goods. Thus, in the Miltonic way, I will stand and make an invocation: Poverty, be thou my wealth. Before majesty, even Solomon's, I will say of her what was said of Wisdom: "Whoso findeth thee findeth life."

. . . . . .

"Blessed are the poor"—without codicil or condition. So far I go with the Master to-day. A beatitude is saved, reduced to Stoic dimensions. I thank God for poverty, tramping this bare track. Praise for white yarrow and the dust between toes! God gives it. For the wet white of noon between the cliffs of Broadway, for a mackerel-back ripple in the clearness of the north, men have missed meals—at twenty-three. There were poets in those days. After forty years I have a gust for blue sky. This too is a gift—Poverty's.

A century gone one of the gentlest of mankind cried aghast on the "decay of beggars." Last month Blackwood's bristled fiercely in a ten-page argument for "the need of an aristocracy." These things are related. Aristocracy, a splendid form of poverty, blood and brains in clear distinction, edged gallantly at a limitless inane. There are economies in art and literature, a severe use of means, for the cutting of flawless jewels. Life owns a cognate process. The chisel is blue steel. Poverty is a spirit. Her temper is the chill of winter nights tingling with the life whose lastingness stays between the stars. She runs in fine families like the Arnolds and the Emersons. The theme is perpetual and heavenly. It is a study in divinity. Its last implications are not here but in some beyond where being is as fire. Is this academic? It is vital, personal.

Perhaps you have slumped into the pit of *things*. Does the impedimenta of mere matter—nuggets, notes—bow you at fifty? Have you developed more ability to get than to give? Look! I am not smothered in stuff. I breathe. Eternally impecunious, do I hear you say? Ah, but if one enjoys it! Poverty is luxury—cigarettes and chocolate to the stale trench-boy.

It is to be fit at five and forty, keen as a young hound. Life in a flat is sheer adventure; a street car thrills you like a grapevine swing; the factory whistle sets you winding a mort on imagined hills. Would you know the recipe for this keenness? Live Spartan, live Spartan! Grind your stores; use the waste; to the crucible with the raw sand of your situation; make it yield gold.

What sets my heart thumping in all the world? Put down at random the list would be something like this: Sample specimens. First. A prairie rolling back from a mountain where a man walks the glimmering road. Second. The bare thought of God. Third. A shingle-brown bungalow behind whitewashed palings. Fourth. The massif of lower New York—in fog. Fifth. Green night in Arizona (by a Taos artist). Sixth. William Blake's sketches. Seventh. A reminiscence: the red heart of a watermelon broken on a dusty turnpike, near Toledo. Last, white sunlight blazing against black basalt, sky or stone.

Thank poverty for this fierce purity of taste projected into

middle age. The impression of every one of these items on the tablets of consciousness is sharply traceable to my chronic meagerness of circumstance. Take the sixth and seventh for instances. Driven for entertainment (without money and without price) into the St. Louis library, I chanced upon mad Blake's masterpiece in a soiled old copy. In the roar of the city I was alone, and I beheld the Ancient of Days. The episode of the red melon; it was a clean breakfast picked out of the dust after a night in a straw-stack, the redness crystallized into sugar and ice. I taste it now. That was in 1895. I was walking to Corydon with a pocketful of poems. The other items have each an equally vivid or poignant history. I might speak of the first glimpse of snowy Shasta on a grinding spiral of trusted steel, caught from a brake-beam between Pullman wheels. The San Francisco nabob who owned the Southern Pacific couldn't buy that plate.[1]

I note your impatience, friend. This is the place for elucidation. If you were a thinker—I speak metaphysically—if you were given to thinking, raptured of it, like Hazlitt *ambulant,* my work would be simpler. I would refer you off-hand to a famous thesis on "The Nature of Non-possession." It drew fire, when it first appeared, from so profound a source as the Wayfarer professor of the Trampdom Foundation (at the University of All-the-Asses). Said the Great Detached: "We have found it at last. This is the border of nothingness, the hell of the abstract." In your case a definition would be better. Thus: Poverty. The want of wealth; less than enough of what one needs ("wants" are ruled out). This improves, still it is not wholly to the point. The crux is "what one needs." Spiritual comforts first; it is Christian to say so. But in certain cases gross material blessings are equally indispensable, being at the moment exactly "what one needs." You see, this method doesn't get us far. It is a grave matter. What do you say, friend? Let's go back to the golden pace and leave logic to limp alone. It is for those who have leisure. As for me, I will speak of what I know.

Poverty has been my good fairy Cophetua's queen in the

[1] I must admit the counter advantage of wealth as opportunity. Was it not old H. himself who drove the golden spike which pinned the last rail to the wood when the U. P. linked the East and West in iron wedlock? What must have been his sensations—a superman's?

mystic sense. She opened for me the magic gates of joy. The gracious girl, I thank her for a thousand pure rillets of boyish pleasure. They trickle to this day. Who dropt me through the smoke of an iron city between the coal banks? It was she. And upon the point of a green cape of country running into the steel sea? It was P. She ought to blush for her crime; I had such an incurable scent for wild earth. Had she made me the son of old Halpin, I would never have stolen his dad's apples from that orchard behind our rented shanty. O the taste of those yellow beauties—early harvest—it stains my soul after—as many years as you like. It was a poor man's boy who took those wintry walks on foggy mornings, to stand on the world's brink and drink wonder. The great pit seethed below; steam and blaze rose to the rim of the cauldron; it was the forge of civilization. After forty years I stood again on those holy heights. There was the mighty spread of my ancient burgh, her gray enchantments touched with gold; not a hill diminished, not a distance disillusioned, in the mild March noon.

Lack of pennies and long Saturdays, bless her for a plenty! and the bee-like instinct to track the green feet of April across the highlands. The thrill, divine Life! as from the touch of naked deity, of sun and air and water, splashing through the sulphur-colored mixture of Chartier's run. She beckoned, and "Romance came piping o'er the hills"—from Castle Shannon! She plotted the picnics in Duquesne woods and the pocketful of gingersnaps on the way home. The circus was her device, and the long wait in the July sun for the parade, and the outside of the white tent at night. This was nothing else than the pavilion of Pari-benou dipped in a sea of light, and bursting like a lily from the palm of Noor-Jehaun.

She led our hunt for slippery elm and Mayapple. She gave us buttercups and ox-eyed daisies in lieu of coin. She put globes of dandelion to the lips of the straggler. She freighted their plumes with dreams. Holy dreams! Would I exchange them for the weight of Woolworth's tower in copper or tin? Would you sell one for gold? I might—for New Jerusalem. There is no secret about this. Be pure. Diana guard thy dreams!

Poverty is a goddess, wise and fair. She opened the door of undreamed beatitude. She found me in the brickyards of Egypt, and I became a pilgrim of light. She sent me to Overmond, where piety and knowledge were friends, where conduct and character were the great objectives of education and learning. My thoughts were turned to the everlasting verities. I learned to act in deliberate rightness. I studied the torso of the ancient world, drinking at the well of the classics. I proved the muscles of virtue and what was great in Roman men. I became a mason of the temple and handled truth. A master taught me, a high jeweler of the Kingdom. J. M. L., gray in goodness, lives still. Obedience, I learned, is the beginning of all well-being, and reverence the far-off crown of science. Life cannot unlearn the lesson now, nor time corrode a letter. My student days were few—they were done in two years—but they were like that.

I was poor, but she made me poorer. Was it jealousy of the humanities, for a chastity beyond? Her cold hand pointed and the student turned to work. He looked long at the beloved spot and departed. Even now, in moments of weariness, I look back and see it all—town, tower, trees, chapel, faces, fused in a colored radiance like a fountained city; drink with my eyes, and turn clearer-souled for heaven.

She taught my hands to work. I knew the cold sweetness of the breeze on a sweated brow. She gave me a man's joy in labor; I learned the secret of my far begetting from the fingers of Him who ordained the moon and the stars. She held a cup to my lips and caused me to suffer with those who toil without hope. I walked with want and knew that she who walked with me wept. We were in the City of Dreadful Night. I beheld her colossal image, for she was Despair, and she became Madness. In the moment of her power she would have hurled me— No! no! Let me forget! The damned were there, and I knew it not. In the darkness I lost her. Mine was the burden of Duma: I was a voice crying "Watchman, what of the night?" Morning came: her weeping was turned to brightness. She placed a Book in my hands, saying, "Get to God."

* * * * * *

We are on the great pike here. You have come a little way, comrade; you have picked up some rudiments, but the trade is yet to learn. You have jogged along with a real amateur; it's time now to meet the masters. I'll pledge you there are some on this road. We are sure to pass them before sun's at grass.

Back of yonder hedge in the dingle, look hard at the black, tall man. He's dubbed "the Bible-seller." He can teach you tricks of the trade, more than one. The thing now is the crowd about his forge—gypsies, and one or two others. There's Lavengro, and the Flaming Tinman, and the Mad Methodist; and the girl with the glint-o'-fire hair, Isopel Berners, the dingle queen. Put your mark on the tall man, George Borrow by name. He holds the keys to the treasures of the tribe. Don't forget *him*. When your holiday comes round, *make for the dingle!*

Here's another windfall. The Bedford tinker's out of jail. Give a cheer. He loves the poor and knows this road by faith. Half the travelers are in his heart. He could name a hundred; Hopeful and Greatheart are his boys; his son Faithful, the eldest, died on the field of honor, slain in battle. You see how he's pressed by the King's business. His face is set. We may get the time o' day out of him—no more. "Hello, pilgrim!" As I thought, he shies at our hail, suspecting a pair of rogues. He's had many mishaps on this way, and the marks of mishandling are green upon him. He won't rest short of the Delectables, those peacock hills shining in the West. His testament is the manual for poor pilgrims. You can have mine. Get it by memory.

Try a word on the fat boy with the limp; I mean that bald, brown beggar in the monk's robe and girdle. That's he, Brother Lawrence, and good company. We can amble along with him and no harm. He has a pipeful of gossip and will be free of his Alsatian brew in no time. Don't miss a sip. It's tang! the love o' God. He lugs two sacks under arm. I could crush a cup now. We halved loaves together yesternoon under the Green Tree by the Wellside. There I had a taste of his "Practice." Believe me, he loves our nation. Find me a poorer one among good fellows, and I—

This play irks a trifle, if I read your meaning, lad. Patience!

A willing hand learns a bit from anyone. Reality is catching, and these fellows have it.

Listen! There's one ahead of us a mile or more. My glass shows him gloriously ragged and going in bare feet. We must catch up with the chap. We will, if he stops again to talk to the birds. Hereabout the folk call him—never mind for the moment what. We belong to the same company, but he beats me barefoot on this path. Who is he? Why, the authentic apprentice to the Grand Master of the Guild. Some say he is the only real disciple, in point of poverty, of the Greatest of the Poor. His name? Guess awhile. Here is a hint to help. I fed this same holy man out of my bag this morn. Where did you lodge the night? I asked. With my brother, he answered. With your brother, I said; where's he? Here, said he. And with that a big wolf trotted out from the woodside and licked his hand.

"Francis!" Yea, as I love poverty, it is—the saint himself! I'm after him. (*Shouting over his shoulder*).

You'll find a proper bed at the Inn there by the Bridge. A great good fellow keeps the house.

Good-bye, comrade! I'm for Tirnan-Og "where you buy joy for a penny."

THE ATONEMENT—TO ME

Isabelle Horton
Lake Bluff, Ill.

"Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer." **Luke 24. 46.**

It is night. Not the soft, enshrouding darkness that brings repose from care and toil; but an evil night. A blackness seething with passions that will not bear the light of day—a brooding horror from which are hatched plots of hatred and murder, and through which skulk the footsteps of conspiracy. And in that horror of thick darkness the Great Martyr awaits in solitary agony the last act of the world tragedy.

Who dares keep with him that lonely vigil? Who will follow his tortured steps to judgment hall and to Calvary? We shrink from even the contemplation of those hours, and well we may. We thrill with the triumph of Palm Sunday and the glory of Easter, but as for the days that intervene, we turn the pages hastily and hurry through, even as the disciples who all forsook him and fled. But for him there was no escape—no way from Palm Sunday to Easter save the way that led through Thursday and Friday. No hour of that dreary time could he escape.

All life is an effort to escape the scourge of pain. Even when we have climbed high enough in the scale of being to suffer in the suffering of others, we shield ourselves and evade it if we can. Why think of suffering that we cannot help? Of Christ we say: "Why dwell upon the scenes of his passion? We are saved by his life, not by his death; by his resurrection, not by his crucifixion." Ah, but I do not know that. His life, flawless and perfect as it was, would have been but a tale that is told without that consummation. There was no way to the triumph of the empty tomb save the way of the cross.

Artists have gone down into that horror of darkness and brought back pictured glimpses of that loved face as it might have been—as it must have been; and we hide as it were our faces

from him in his agony. One such pictured face hangs before me—just a face gleaming out from the darkness—a man's face, tortured, hunted, betrayed. The brow is stained with red drops from the brutal thorns; the eyes are dim with anguish. Yet in them is a light of infinite love, and a power of unconquered kingliness. They express, not the passive obedience of a lamb led to the slaughter, but the bending of human will to the control of the higher law. "He set his face steadfastly to go"; "He poured out his soul"; his own will was the will of the Father. And the genius of the painter has caught it all.

Still, people say, "I do not like it. Why dwell upon the physical aspects of his agony? Doubtless the moral and spiritual suffering overcame the physical." As if there were help or comfort in that! This thought neither softens nor mitigates the cruel facts, but adds to them something beyond our power to conceive. Gethsemane did not prevent Calvary. The pallid face, worn with spiritual conflict, touched to no pity the hearts of Roman soldiers or mocking priests. Every step of the way from Sanhedrin to judgment hall, from hall to palace, and up the rocky slopes of Calvary must be trod by those tired feet. No physical pang was spared because the mental suffering was heaped higher still; and then, "they crucified him."

And as I look long into that pictured face—"marred more than any man"—and meet the unwavering gaze of those tender eyes, there come to me strange questionings and heart-searchings as to the mystery of human pain and sin, and the appealing power of Love, human and divine.

We have learned, somehow, to associate sin with its penalty, pain. But how strangely here were they disassociated! Suffering in the pure and sinless face of Jesus; sin in the impudent mockery of priests, the stupid brutality of soldiers, the shamed, vanishing face of Judas. But not there alone. Search farther, patient eyes, and bare our own heart secrets. Shall I not find, hidden in the depths of my own consciousness, the germs of all that brought that agony into the face of Christ? Jealousy, wounded pride, resentment against real or fancied wrong, self-love, and indifference to another's pain—what but these passions, uncurbed and free

to work their cruel will, wrought the tragedy of Calvary? And may we not find them today all about us, making their homes in our own hearts and the hearts of our associates?

In these days of sore anguish and world travail I will not suffer my heart to be needlessly wrung with the woes of the hero of fiction. From even true tales of pain and tragedy I sometimes turn away, lest they come back to haunt me in the night watches. But from that tragedy of sorrow, from this pictured face with sad eyes that ask: "Could ye not watch with me one hour?" I dare not turn away. Then, as the sacred anniversary draws nigh,

> "Let us sit beneath his cross,
> And gladly catch the healing stream;
> All things for him account but dross,
> And give up all our hearts to him;
> Of nothing think or speak beside,
> My Lord, my Love, is crucified."

What is it to us—this Wonder Story of the ages—this mystery of suffering that "the angels desired to look into"—and to whom it must have been even a greater mystery than the resurrection? That infinite power should stoop to human weakness, that the Sinless One should "become sin" for us, and thus open a way for the sinner back to the heart of God, that is indeed a mystery fit to tax even celestial intelligences.

Yet, impatiently, we seek to understand. We have a department of learning that we call theology, *Theo*-logy, as if it were possible for the finite to understand the infinite, the created to understand the Creator. We would measure infinity with our little yardstick, discuss, dissect, analyze, and really construct out of our own wisdom a god whom we can understand, one whom we can take apart and put together like a Chinese puzzle; while in truth our knowledge must be inadequate as that of the dragonfly that flits for a day over the bosom of a vast river, of whose boundaries and purposes he cannot dream.

I, myself, the child of a parsonage, was born and cradled in an atmosphere of theological dissertation. "Little pitchers have big ears." At fourteen I came up hard against the doctrine of

Calvinism. At twenty-five I was floundering in Socinianism; and if later I accepted Arminianism it was only as a working hypothesis, and not that I had in any wise solved to my satisfaction the problems of predestination, of vicarious sacrifice, and imputed righteousness.

We know in part. There is a world of life and action, man's world, whose laws we do well to learn and comprehend. It involves our attitude and our conduct toward our fellow men, and reaches out toward God—so much of God as we are capable of comprehending. It is a world where, by experience and study, we may reach satisfactory conclusions, where we may agree and learn to work together. There is also a realm of ultimate knowledge which, in the nature of things, is beyond our grasp. About it we may speculate, we may exercise our reason, we may stretch the wings of our imagination, but we can *know*—nothing. In this realm of the unknown and the unknowable the conclusions of the mystic are as weighty as those of the scientist; the opinions of the poet as valid as those of the philosopher; and in this world we have no right to even try to impose upon other minds our own beliefs and conclusions.

And yet it is in this cloud land of visions and half knowledge that contests rage interminably. There is no bitterness like the bitterness of saints, when it comes to matters of beliefs, of traditions, of established forms and ritual. It was the High Priest of Judea who led the cry of "Crucify him!" and later, the hands of the priests and prelates that lit the fires of martyrdom for other saints who went to death with his name upon their lips. Someone has pithily said; "God gave man religion, and then Satan invented theology to make a fuss"; and surely the arches of hell must ring with his laughter as he sees saints turning their batteries against saints in a warfare that can never cease so long as men with human limitations arbitrate as to the character and attributes and purposes of the Creator of the universe. How much strife would be saved, how much real, vital religion would be conserved if men would agree to disagree charitably about the things that cannot be absolutely known, and unite their forces upon the firm foundation of things that cannot be reasonably doubted.

Suppose that, for one generation only, all the churches of Christendom should forget their differences and unite upon the simple platform that God is our Father, that Christ is his Interpreter, and that the immutable law of the universe is Love, manifest in service—who can doubt that that generation would bear this sad old world a thousand years on its march toward God!

Every little journey we take should teach us this lesson of actual and partial knowledge. A trip from New York to Chicago is a covenant between me and an organization about which the average person knows little and trusts much. I pay a price for my ticket. I entrust my belongings to a person whom I never saw before, and of whose character for honesty I know nothing. He gives me a cabalistic card which I do not even attempt to decipher, and disappears into the human wilderness. I know there are certain laws to which I must conform—the rules of the road—and, observing these, I fully expect to reach my destination in safety and receive my trunk on the presentation of my check. I dimly understand that I am dealing with a vast system. Great buildings with innumerable offices are open to my convenience; officials, tense and preoccupied, attend to my safety and answer my questions; I get vistas of trucks and trunks stretching away into dim distances, great, leather-bound volumes, mountains of checks and files. To me it is all a bewildering chaos. But I know that if my trunk should go astray all that machinery of men and things would be at my service. Files would be searched, telephones ring, and telegrams flash from city to city until the railroad had made good its part of the contract. I do not know, nor need to know, all the intricacies of the system, but I know what is necessary for me to accomplish a prosperous journey.

In the mystery of the atonement there are certain truths connected with human life which I can understand. They satisfy my reason and my judgment. Since they also agree with the revelation of God in his word, I walk confidently, thus far. There are other propositions relating to the nature of God and his attitude toward us which I do not understand, and which all the dissertations of theologians thus far have not helped me to understand. About these I am interested, but I will not cavil. I neither affirm

nor deny; I do not know. I cannot reconcile my sense of freedom of will, or of simple justice, with the foreknowledge of God and the immutable decrees. I no longer try. So with forgiveness, justification, regeneration. It is my business to seek and receive them; not mine to know how God can give them and still retain his character of justice, or how, sinless, he could take upon himself the burden and the guilt of sin. But there are some things connected with man's relation to God that must come to human understanding with the appeal of irresistible truth.

The first of these self-evident truths is that something is wrong with human nature—something that hinders in its upward struggle toward righteousness. We may account for it as we will. We may call it "inbred sin," or "error" or "egoism." We may trace it back to the primitive passion that has led the race thus far in the struggle for existence. It affiliates us with what is behind and beneath us; it leads to strife and hatred, and, when foiled, to deceit and cruelty and treachery. It alienates us from a God who is purity and peace and love.

Second, there is one force, and only one, that can enter the arena against this most human, most masterful passion of selfishness, and this is the power of love. Nothing else can so control, uplift, and transform the human soul, substituting in it for the law of the jungle the law of "otherism." This love is not a part of unregenerate human nature. It is divine. We "admire" what is above and beyond us; we "like" qualities suited to our taste and our temperament; we love to love and to be loved. But this is not the transforming love that Christ brings to the world. "If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even publicans the same?" But the love that takes in the unlovely with tender compassion, the love that gives itself and its own gratification in service to friend and foe alike, such love is divine in its nature and origin. If God would draw this lost and wandering planet back to himself, what force more potent than the purifying and uplifting power of love?

Third, so far as human experience goes, love can be expressed only in terms of service, which will not stop short of sacrifice. A love that costs the lover nothing makes little impression upon any

heart. In what other way could God make his love for us intelligible and active for our good?

Here, then, is our problem. There may have been, in the bosom of infinite wisdom, other possibilities for its solution, but I can conceive of none.

One snowy morning a little flock of snow buntings alighted on my balcony in search of the crumbs I had scattered in anticipation of their visit. Presently a flock of sparrows swooped down and drove the snow birds away. They bustled and quarreled among themselves, keeping an alert and mistrustful eye out for the watcher behind the film of glass. Then a bullying blue jay appeared, and the sparrows in turn had to fly away. When his autocratic appetite was appeased, and the snow birds came timidly back, there was little left for them. Gently I opened the window to scatter more seeds, but they flew away in terror and would not return. I said, "Why should they not trust me? I have never harmed one of them. And why should they fight and quarrel, and drive one another away? I have food enough for them all. If I could only make them understand——"

And then a question came. Suppose it were possible, would you take upon yourself the form and limitations of bird life in order that you might speak to them in their own language, and make them understand that you are their friend and not their enemy? Would you take the risk that, even so, they might not accept your testimony? That you might be pecked at, chattered down, mocked, and driven, hurt and bleeding, from the council of their bird wisdom? And I said: No; I do not love them enough for such a sacrifice as that. I would not do it if I could. And then suddenly a new conception came of a love that was deep and tender enough for even such a test as that. Of One who, "existing in the form of God, counted not being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, yea, the death of the cross." And so I accept the mystery of "the Word made Flesh," because I know of no other way by which God could so call forth in human hearts that response of

love by which we must be lifted up out of the life of the flesh, which is death, into the life of the spirit, which is love and immortality.

Pagan and heathen nations have had their myths of gods incarnate in human flesh for intrigue or adventure, but not that they might lift humanity up and link it with their own divinity. Men have worshiped such gods, dimly recognizing the Unknown standing within the shadows, but love has not entered into their relationships at all. They would propitiate the anger of their god with gifts and sacrifices, or outwit him with their cleverness to procure his favor. Such religions have had no power to cleanse the heart of sin, or to purify the life. That "Word" which for us was "made Flesh" was Love—"Love Divine"—and its expression was a sacrifice as complete as the love was supreme. "God so loved that he gave"—and by so loving and so giving he makes the strongest appeal of which the human heart can conceive, in the only language that we can understand, for the love of his prodigal children.

The appeal of Christ to the human heart is not merely the stimulus of a high ideal, or the inspiration of a perfect example. It is warmer, closer, more compelling than that. We pore over the pages of Augustine, or Milton or Browning and wonder at their richness of thought and of diction; we thrill at the story of great lives like Florence Nightingale's or Lincoln's; but when, through the medium of painter's brush, or poet's thought, or prophet's word, we get a vision of the face of Jesus Christ, our hearts say, "My Lord and my God!" Self-love, unworthy desires, unholy passions take their flight, hard tasks become easy, pain for him is pleasure, and all life takes on new and sweeter meanings. In a passion of poetic imagination one may say, "I am washed in the blood of the Lamb."

A mother once paid an unexpected visit to her son at college. On the wall of his room hung a picture of questionable taste, one that would perhaps have been removed had her coming been announced. She made no comment, but on her return she sent him as a gift a beautiful picture of the face of Christ. Courtesy to his mother demanded that he give it a place in his room, and

just as inevitably the objectionable picture disappeared. They could not occupy the same room. Neither can Christ be given his due place in the heart without exercising his kingship, bringing every thought into captivity to himself.

There are undoubtedly mysteries connected with the atonement which we do not understand, and which we do not need to understand, just here and now. I nowhere find that Christ demanded that we should. He made no attempt to explain the psychology of his dual nature; he did not discuss abstract theology at all. He said, "Believe in ME." We might even be mistaken as to how he came into the world and how he went out of it; but if we recognize him as the Revealer of God and give him the right of way in our lives we shall not go far astray.

There may be some who make the mistake of believing that the atonement of Christ removes from us the penalty as well as the guilt of sin; and whose faith suffers a shock when they find the Christian still contending with the infirmities of the flesh and the misfortunes incident to human life. It is true that, with the joys of reconciliation, there may come a spiritual uplift that seems to take the soul into an atmosphere where old temptations lose their power, and even physical weaknesses seem overcome by the "expulsive power" of a great new affection. But penalty as a result of sin is an immutable law, and as beneficent in its way as the law of forgiveness. The certainty of punishment, while not the highest or strongest deterrent motive in human life, is still strong. Fear may restrain the soul until it becomes amenable to the higher power of love. God spares no argument or influence that can make sin hateful to human consciousness. But penalty loses its bitterness when the sense of guilt and estrangement from God is gone.

A teacher required a pupil to remain after school as a penalty for neglect of his tasks. He sat at his desk sullen, resentful, defiant, and wholly unhappy. The teacher at her desk felt only sorrow for the infraction of rules, and pity for the culprit. She went and laid a hand gently on the boy's shoulder. "I'm sorry you had to stay, laddie," she said; "but you see I'm staying with you." Swift as sunlight a smile chased away the frown. The boy looked up into the teacher's face and saw there, not anger

but only love and compassion. "Oh, that's all right; I deserved it," he said with boyish frankness, and reaching for the discarded book he bent cheerfully over his task. The penalty was not remitted but its sting was gone when he realized that the teacher was his friend and he was still within the pale of her love and care. How Christ by taking upon himself the penalty of sin makes atonement for the sinner—that is not my problem; mine it is to look up into his face and see his smile of forgiveness, and feel in my own heart the answering response of gratitude and love.

But the grievous error, and the one that chiefly obstructs the progress of the Kingdom, is the complacent assumption that Christ has not only borne for us the penalty of sin, but relieved us of the necessity of sacrifice. We sing, "Jesus paid it all" and thank him in pious phrase, as if we were to be carried to heaven on flowery beds of ease. We still hold aloft the cross, but no more as a symbol of service and sacrifice for others. It is the proud decoration of a costly church—a golden ornament on woman's neck. Easter morning will see many a cross of soft and fragrant lilies in memory of Him who wore the crown of thorns. For us, music, perfume, and luxury; for him, pain and loneliness and grief.

If Jesus taught anything simply and definitely, it was that to his followers he delegated the duty of taking up his cross and carrying on his work. "As the Father sent me, so send I you." Love, the all-compelling "Word," must still be manifested in sacrifice. The triumphs of the cross had come when men and women did not shrink from giving their all, counting not their lives dear that souls might be born into the Kingdom. There is no easy way to win the world to Christ. "God loves you" means little if there goes with the message no token of love. Ever is it true that a man's testimony is worth just as much as he is willing to give to back it up with. The early Christians gave all in passionate devotion, and their testimony carried conviction to the heart of the heathen world. In lands across the sea to-day, and in our own land, souls are being won where lives are poured out in loving service. Men and women go down into the trenches of human sin and suffering and bring back soul trophies in payment for scars.

But for the most part we hedge our lives about with comfort,

shielding our tender sensibilities from even the knowledge of the lost world in its sore travail. We are gracious to the church, and give decorously of our abundance to the cause of missions, and wonder why the world remains indifferent to the gospel message. But it is the teaching of Christ and the experience of centuries that the church must continue to pay the redemption price, if souls are to be won from the power of sin and selfishness; and, failing that, there is no redemption.

But sacrifice is only half the story. The messenger of the cross goes not alone, nor does he lose his reward. "Lo, I am with you always" comes the voice of the Teacher—the Comrade. And as, even with the cold shadow of the cross falling over him, he prayed that "his joy" might be fulfilled in the hearts of his followers, that prayer is answered. No gift, or service, or sacrifice, given as he gave, for Love's sake, fails to bring back in the doing a fullness of joy that no tongue can tell, and no worldly limitation take away.

Like children upon the ocean shore, we sail our little boats. We gather wonderful shells and pebbles of truth. We bathe in its life-giving waters. But beyond and afar, stretching into the mists, lies the limitless ocean of truth, whose boundaries are beyond our ken, and whose mysteries we may not explore. But a hand is stretched out to us from the infinite dark. It is warm and human, and pierced with the symbol of sacrifice. It is human—but it is more. It holds us fast to the heart of an Unknown God, and assures us that he is Love, and Wisdom, and Power, beyond our understanding. Let us grasp that hand, and shrink not if we feel in our own the pain of service and in our hearts the spear point of misunderstanding and intolerance. So shall we be lifted out of selfishness and strife; so shall we begin to learn what love is; and so shall this tortured, sin-crazed world be led through human love to know the "love that passeth knowledge." And so shall the Christ, the Redeemer, "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied."

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE THREEFOLD TEMPTATION

A Lesson for Lent

The forty days of penitential discipline, which in the calendar of the church precede Easter Sunday and culminate in the Holy Week of the Passion, are traditionally connected with the forty days' fast of our Lord in the wilderness. If we follow him in the way of the cross, we must first follow him through the time of moral testing in the valley of spiritual conflict and decision.

The first Adam was tempted in a garden of beauty and abundance; he fell and was driven into the desert of want and toil. The Second Adam was tempted in the desert; he overcame that he might bring us back to paradise. Deeper than the historic truth of these two narratives is their moral meaning. They are typical of the trial of the will which every man must meet, whether his lot be cast in Eden or the wilderness.

Goethe, in the initiation scene in "Wilhelm Meister," has his hero instructed in the three reverences—reverence for that which is beneath us, for that which is about us, and for that which is above us. These are, indeed, the three great relationships of life—to nature beneath our feet, to our brother man by our side, and to God in the overbending heavens. These relations, which are the school of our physical, moral, and spiritual training, are also the sphere and means of our temptation. Man is tempted by fleshly appetite to use his power over nature selfishly, by worldly ambition to use his power over his fellows selfishly, and by spiritual aspiration to use even his power over God selfishly. This is the threefold appeal of the tempter—through "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life."

The first imperious needs of man are the bodily appetites. He is a hungry animal who must find food or die. "It is good for food," says the serpent to the woman; "Make bread," says the devil to our Lord. Man has a right to make bread, and he must make it out of

stones, that is, out of the material that nature supplies him. Here man passes beyond the animal stage, for beasts forage for food and find it; he must master nature and make it. The world waits for the miracle of man's genius which shall make the desert "rejoice and blossom as the rose," and man shall make himself in remaking the earth. But it is wrong to make bread in violation of the law of God and in selfish disregard of the needs of others. Much of the world's wealth is bread baked by a recipe out of the devil's cookbook. The idle rich, who return no service for the food they eat, the gamblers of the stock exchange, the selfish greed that lives luxuriously at the cost of human suffering, the hoarded wealth gathered by exploiting unrequited toil, the ill-gotten gains of the liquor traffic—these are bread at the devil's bidding, which can feed a pampered animal but cannot satisfy a being who needs not bread alone, but God.

The second temptation is on a higher plane. Satan is quite aware that we need more than physical food. He is perfectly willing to go with us from the wilderness of bodily want to the mountain of ideal vision, whose wide horizons enclose the kingdoms of beauty, truth, and power. "Fair to see," said the serpent; "Lo, the glory of them!" cries the tempter. It is not wrong for man to seek mastery and dominion; his commission is to subdue the earth. "Not by bread alone, but by truth," says science; "and by beauty," says art; "and by social order," says politics. Yet a subtler danger lurks in these glorious dreams of æsthetic achievement than even in the coarse lusts of the animal. Divine philosophy has been made "procuress to the gates of hell"; art has been made a pander to vice and selfishness, and man's march to empire has been marked by tyranny, oppression, and bloodshed. Men have been but too ready to believe that the road to rule is by devil worship. They have thought of power as conferring privilege rather than as imposing obligation. Jesus knew better and came down from the mountain as poor as he went up; he marched to victory not by the path of selfish power but by the lowly road of humble and loving service, and it is therefore that he has been "given a name which is above every name."

"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only," answers Jesus. "Certainly," says the devil, "let's go to church!" The third temptation is wholly in the spiritual sphere. The tempter knows how to pervert even a holy trust. Piety is full of perils. Satan is not afraid of Bibles or holy water; he will poison the one and quote the other. He would as soon capture a soul in the closet as in the

countingroom, at prayer as at pilfering, through faith as by forgery. The worst corruption is the corruption of the best. The climax of all sin is spiritual pride. God will not protect us against our stupidity and wicked presumption. He will not turn a planet out of the way to let our little cart go past. "God *hath* given his angels charge concerning us," but not all the hosts of heaven can save us when the stumbling stones in our pathway have been left there by idle neglect, willful ignorance, or stupid indifference.

> "God hates those sneaking creatures that believe
> He'll tend to things they run away and leave."

God is our healer, but he has ordained that our cure shall come by many medicinal methods. The right road down from the temple tower is by the stair and not through the air. "The Lord will provide," but we are the partners of his providence who must by toil of hand, head, and heart cooperate with his laws.

All these temptations are manifestations of one spirit—selfishness. Calvary and its cross are the final answer of the Christ to the false claims of the world, the flesh, and the devil. We can overcome through our overcoming Saviour. This is the teaching of the apocalyptic vision: "They overcame him (the evil one) because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony, and they loved not their own life even unto death" (Rev. 12. 11). For the threefold temptation there is the promise of a threefold triumph. Spirit shall conquer flesh and make every meal a sacrament; real sovereignty shall be found in service and not in selfish sway; and genuine religion is not a franchise to be exploited in the interests of spiritual pride and presumption, but loyalty to the law and love of the heavenly Father.

EASTER AND THE EQUINOX

It is by no accident that Christmas comes at the winter solstice, when the triumph of light over darkness begins, and that Easter Sunday coincides with the vernal equinox, when the conquest is complete. It is thus a divine symbol set in the calendar, marking the victory of light over darkness and of life over death. Spring is one of God's prophets; it is an annual resurrection in which he renews the face of the earth and the hopes of mankind. In the world of grace, Jesus Christ is the first blossom that proclaims an immortal summer, the first fruit of an eternal harvest.

After all, the analogies of nature are only approaches to the truth; Christ is the only bridge between eternity and time. With him begins the spiritual order, the genealogy of life. His empty grave in Joseph's garden is God's "Amen!" to the plea of the lilies, the argument of the roses.

Our interest in the resurrection of our Lord is not speculative, but practical and personal. One who stood before the open tomb, early in the dawn of the Day of Resurrection, has thus voiced it as an experimental fact: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again into a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." (1 Pet. 1. 3.) Just as a tidal river feels in its ebb and flow the pulse of the mighty ocean as it swells to the starry influences of the heavens, so the new birth is a part of the same fact and urged by the same power as raised our Lord from the dead.

Men talked about immortality before, but it was a spectral hope without flesh and blood. It was "this pleasing hope, this fond desire" of Cato's soliloquy, a phantasy that melted away as men strove to grip it. Something did happen that Easter morning that turned a dying dream into a "lively hope." A flashlight flamed into the kingdom of the dead and into the failing faith of man. As you leave Rome by the Appian Road, on the left are the pagan columbaria with their despairing inscriptions filled with wild regret; on the right are the catacombs where the tombs of Christian saints and martyrs shine in the vaulted darkness with such mottoes as "Hope in Christ," "I shall arise." Something had awakened in the heart of humanity. The earthquake that rolled away the stone from the grave in the garden has lifted a heavier load from thousands of buried lives. "Begotten us"—yes, but that *"us"* has a *"me"* in its heart. The winter of sin and death has yielded to the springtime of salvation and life, and the flowers of grace begin to bloom in the garden of the saved soul. The "All hail!" of the risen Lord has thrilled to life innumerable dead spirits.

Our Christian faith is more than an intellectual belief in past facts; it is a moral trust in a living and present Person. We do not have to ransack graves, exhume ruins, excavate Jerusalem, or drain the Red Sea to find the credentials of our faith. We shall find it inwardly in the awakened Christian consciousness and outwardly in the constant conquests of the Kingdom. Christian experience is a present testimony to the might of the Risen and Living Lord. The

church is rallied by the presence and voice of a never-dying One who cries: "I am he who liveth and was dead, but behold, I am alive forevermore." A dead Christ could make only dead Christians.

What does Easter Day mean to us? Does it signify merely fresh attire, brisker trade, country excursions, and renewed industry? Only by the destruction of our sin and selfishness can the last enemy be slain. If we are risen with Christ, surely we are seeking the higher things, as the April sunshine calls the sleeping germs to find a soul in grass and flowers. We can no longer dwell among the tombs or be interested in dead and dying things. Our present life of faith is a budding life in union with an unseen but risen Christ; it shall blossom and find perfection of flower and fruit in union with a glorious manifested Christ at his appearing in the final redemption. Therefore can we chant that sublimest strain of the great *Te Deum:* "When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers."

"Blessed be God" for this "lively hope," shouts St. Peter! Shall we not sing with him this New Testament psalm, majestic and full of music, recounting blessings born of grace and burgeoning in glory?

THE DANGER OF DOGMATISM[1]

THE casuistry of the pulpit, discussed in the last issue of the REVIEW, needs a further negative safeguard, if the purity of the pastoral conscience is to be preserved. If the reckless radical of the pulpit is to be condemned for exploiting undigested critical conclusions in his sermons, an equal blame rests upon the ultra-conservative who makes the sacred desk a fortress for the defense of traditional opinions which have no vital relation to religious reality.

This negative duty is imposed upon the preacher by the present situation. In intellectual honesty he must not use the pulpit to support untenable and discredited theories of Holy Scripture. The conservative minister, no more than the progressive, has the right to proclaim any human opinions as if they were the veritable truth of God. He must not use his office to disparage the work of devout scholars, nor to cruelly and falsely brand as heretics and infidels men whose loyalty to truth is born of their communion with God, and whose conception of that relationship is frequently more spiritual

[1] This discussion and that following are in continuation of the treatise on Biblical Criticism and Preaching begun in the November-December, 1920, number of the METHODIST REVIEW.

than his own. There are popular evangelists who have made indecent assaults upon pious Christian scholars in a manner which was perilously near what our Lord called the sin against the Holy Spirit—the moral blindness which perversely sees evil in real holiness.

The preacher must not disingenuously point out the disagreement of critics on uncertain and disputed matters and wholly ignore the vast range of conclusions practically settled by the consensus of all experts. If he is a sincere man he will not seek to win the plaudits of uninstructed piety by the tricks of the demagogue and charlatan, or by passionate protestations of loyalty to the "dear old Book." Nothing has more dishonored the sacred records than the unworthy honor often shown them by men who are willing to pay them every possible respect except to really study them. The Bible has had to endure more at the hands of its supposed friends than from all its enemies. There is a subtle unbelief that underlies all these attempts to profanely steady the ark of God. There is a calm confidence which should possess the soul who has won spiritual certainty to which the froth and fury of partisan special pleading are utterly alien. That besetting vice of the oratorical temperament which makes the preacher a mere echo of popular prejudice must never be allowed to stain the transparent candor of the true prophet of God.

Nothing is more fatal to the pulpit than this spirit of militant dogmatism; the temper of the literalist or of intellectualism is far away from that "sweet reasonableness" by which divine things insinuate themselves into the minds and hearts of men. All the hosts of doubt and denial are less dangerous to the cause of Christ than the traditionalism which has substituted its shriveled formulas for the truth of God. The days of dogmatism are the days of denial. Infidelity has never been more rampant than in the periods of theological obscurantism. Many who hold these reactionary views are doubtless good and sincere men who verily think they are doing God service; but it sometimes requires the utmost effort of Christian charity to recognize any vital religious experience back of the intellect that can conceive or the tongue that can express such sentiments as "You must choose between Christ and the criticism," "If the Bible is not infallible, it is worthless." How is it possible that any soul that has once caught a glimpse of the self-evidencing glory of the faith of Christ should be willing to stake all its excellence, beauty, and truth upon the question of the Mosaic authorship of the Levitical system in its completeness, or the historicity of every detail in the book of

Chronicles? It is a shallow and unimaginative dogmatism, making itself the dry-nurse of skepticism. It would be easy to retort, if such persiflage is to be dignified as argument, "You must follow Christ rather than the Sanhedrin"—for it was the rabbinical school that formed the traditional idea of Scripture which many ignorantly confuse with the Holy Word itself. The preachers of this pseudo-orthodoxy are sons of the synagogue and not children of the church.

Here are some samples of the sort of thing which the preacher must avoid if he would not make skeptics by the score: "The affirmations of Scripture of all kinds, whether of spiritual doctrine or duty, or of physical or historical fact, or of psychological or philosophical principle, are without any error when the *ipsissima verba*[1] of the original autographs are ascertained and interpreted in their natural original sense. . . . A proved error in Scripture contradicts not only our doctrine, but the Scripture claims, and therefore its inspiration in making such claims."[2] To stake the value of the Book of God upon the accuracy of the primitive scientific theories or historical data held by its writers, and naturally used by them as the medium for the statement of inspired moral and spiritual truth, is worse than absurd—it would involve the rejection of the Bible by those who know the facts.

Well did Richard Baxter say, in criticism of similar theological aberrations in his day, "The devil has always been a great undoer by overdoing." In the chilly air of such a sterile thought region sooner or later every flower of a true faith must droop and die. It is not in such pint-cups of doctrinal definition that men can catch and measure the tropic rains of God. It is not necessary to deny the service rendered in a former age by such inadequate and inaccurate formulas; they are the scholastic drill of infantile souls, the "beggarly elements" of an immature dispensation. Something of mother love a child may learn by playing with dolls; but the grown woman who has a living baby at her breast has laid aside the idols of her play days. She would lose the very love they taught if she now preferred them to the growing beauty of the child. As we shall see hereafter, there is an implicit rationalism in such statements which must give way to the religion of the spirit. Our religion will become a more vital thing when it frees itself from the transient and nonessential

[1] Evidently, God is not as much interested as these professors in the inerrancy of the "original autographs," or he would have providentially preserved them for us.

[2] Warfield and Hodge, Presbyterian Review, April, 1881.

and fixes itself upon the eternal spiritual reality. The City of God will be fairer when its walls of beauty are cleared of the scaffolding, which may have been useful in its building, but which, left standing, defaces its loveliness.

There should be warning to the ministry in the memory of the supposed conflict of a generation ago between natural science and revealed religion. Many preachers made the mistake of roundly denouncing from the pulpit the geologists who taught a greater antiquity of the earth and man than that allowed by the biblical chronology as interpreted by Archbishop Usher, and the naturalists who taught the inclusion of man in the continuity of living organisms indicated by Darwinism. Then, later, others were led into the still more serious blunder of constructing elaborate harmonies of science and religion. Moses and the prophets were supposed to have anticipated Herschel, Lyall, Huxley, and Tyndall. By both the dogmatic denial and the absurd harmonizing the preacher abdicated his real throne of power and missed the meaning of Holy Writ. To try to harmonize science and religion is as absurd as to try to harmonize the Declaration of Independence with the theory of logarithms. There can be no discord between these two wholly different attitudes toward reality. In the fine phrase of Martineau: "Science teaches the method of the world but not its cause; religion the cause of the world but not its method."

To say, as has been said so many times, that every latest discovery in physical science will finally be found in agreement with Scripture properly interpreted, is simply another way of saying that we theologians have become so clever in the manipulation of sacred texts that we shall find no trouble in adjusting the difficulties raised by any of its naïve, primitive statements to any discoveries made throughout the tides of time. This wresting of Scripture in its defense will at last confuse the logic and callous the conscience, until the very temper to which truth is revealed is wholly lost. Some people are immune to dangerous microbes and can drink polluted water with impunity. So likewise many in our churches have taken little harm either from the belligerent blunder of antiquated ignorance or the insincere patchwork of would-be enlightenment; but who can doubt that the sense of unreality raised by both these thought-attitudes has done much to create religious indifference and even widespread skepticism? Sensitive spirits by the thousand have been poisoned by such pollution of the very springs of salvation.

GAINS TO FAITH FROM CRITICISM

Already the church is beginning to realize positive gains to faith from the new methods of biblical study. Of course, there have been losses, but they have been more apparent than real. Whenever a church member apostatizes because of some change of attitude with regard to the Bible the actual fact is that he never had any real religious experience. When all the religion he had was an intellectual acceptance of a set of propositions, rather than moral trust in a Living Person, there is little wonder that, when the propositions were knocked out, what religion he had went with it. But thoughtful people who have been embarrassed by the countless difficulties raised by the mechanical theory of the Bible, have been strengthened in their faith by the literary analysis which has furnished a simple and satisfying explanation of the seeming contradictions.

Truth itself is always a gain. In the words of the quaint and judicious Hooker: "That which is most truthful is also most behooveful." The critic's rod has shattered the rock of traditional theories and already the waters of life are beginning to flow. New power will come to the pulpit when its message is spoken in this new atmosphere of reality. If the center of gravity as to biblical inspiration has shifted from a mechanical to a dynamic theory, there can be no question that it is only a readjustment of ballast which will make the ship ride more steadily.

Of course, there are some who will feel it very hard to see a good sermon made useless because an ancient exegesis is made impossible. But the Bible was not chiefly created to furnish texts for preachers nor proof-texts for theologians. The church will be vastly profited if delivered from the atrocities of allegorical interpretation. When the distortions caused by a piecemeal use of Scripture give place to a larger view, and preachers, no longer privileged misinterpreters, are held by the demands of a genuine grammatical and historical exegesis, a new respect will be generated for the Book of God. Nothing has more discredited and cheapened Holy Scripture in the past than the lack of exegetical conscience and the twisting of texts to fit the convenience of the pulpiteer.

There has already been realized a great gain in vividness. The Bible is most divine when most human. True Protestantism has humanism, and not scholasticism, in its veins, and feels most mightily

the power of the appeal to life. After all, it is not so much confirmation of our faith that we should seek as for new views of truth that will vitalize it. The Bible has become a new book to many of us. Criticism has given life to an alien past. Above all men the preacher profits by possessing the historical imagination. The true Bible has power to speak across the ages, because it is not a ready-made code, like the Koran, but the truly human record of the ways of the Spirit. The book is made to live for modern uses when its supernatural element is conceived, not as a philosophical puzzle, but as a vital power. Prophecy gains new meaning when, instead of being a collection of mysterious oracles or queer riddles for modern guessing, it is seen as the living message of God-filled men to their own time. Our modern prophecy-mongers, who can see nothing in the prophetic writings but a confusion of the tenses of human history by their false emphasis on the predictive element, have well nigh destroyed their present worth. A writing which was pure prediction would have little value for any age but that of its fulfillment. Such a view makes the Bible a sealed book of mysteries waiting the unfolding of events to find their explanation. Nothing has more quickened the preaching of applied Christianity than this new conception of prophecy as ethics applied to history. What divides the preacher from the people more than anything else is the academic spirit; he grows out of touch with life. A fresh bath in the living waters of a progressive revelation would wash the mind of the professional taint; religion would no longer be a bit of far-off moral archæology digged up from the débris of centuries, but a present, living fact. The critic, with all his limitations, is often a juicier person than the dogmatist.

There is also an ethical gain from the new attitude. If Scripture is no longer used to justify slavery, polygamy, and despotism; if the morals of a primitive age are no longer invested with a divine sanction and invoked to feed the fires of bigotry and intolerance; if judges do not now burn or hang witches nor conquerors bear the sword of religious persecution in the name of Jehovah of Israel, a great and lasting gain has been realized. It may be said that those things have already passed away; but, if so, it is because the Bible has taught men better than their narrow theory of it would allow. Such is its inherent vitality that genuine nourishment for the soul has always been derived from it in spite of impossible mistranslations and preposterous exegeses. And here emerges a still higher moral advance for the pulpit message. The preacher has been delivered from the toils of apologetic

sophistry, from insincere harmonizing, and from conscience-deadening casuistry. He is no longer called to the defense of an obsolete morality or a worn-out social order. Indeed, the traditionalists themselves are already reaping this benefit. They themselves do not, with heroic loyalty to the letter of Scripture, condone polygamy, defend slavery, practice feet-washing, indulge in the holy kiss, teach the superior sanctity of celibacy, forbid a second marriage for bishops, or preach the social subjection of women. Even the literalist has quite ceased the futile effort of squaring his practice with the theoretical convictions of literal Bible-teaching. The moral battle will have been won when he attains an intellectual standpoint which will relieve him of this inconsistency. Criticism does consciously and with reason what piety has always done unconsciously and sometimes with much perplexity. The blessings of Jesus have always superseded the curses of the psalmist in Christian morals. The enlightened conscience has always been a critic.

The Bible itself contains not a few examples of the critical activity of the growing religious conscience. For example, the earlier prophetic historian of the books of Kings tells us that Jehovah, in order to vent his wrath against Israel, incites David to sinfully take a military census, which was promptly punished by a divinely sent pestilence. 2 Samuel 24. 1-17. The priestly Chronicler, writing at a later date, under the influence of a loftier moral ideal of the divine character, in telling the same story, makes Satan, and not Jehovah, the mover of the wicked act. 2 Chronicles 21. 1-17.

Here is another somewhat different example of the religious interpretation of past history by the growing spiritual consciousness. Biblical criticism has strongly emphasized the striking differences in the story of Jehoshaphat as related in the books of Kings and Chronicles, the former so meager and unflattering, the latter so detailed and grandiose in its pictures of the magnificence of that monarch's reign. And those critics who are rationalistic in tendency have not been slow to draw conclusions most unfavorable to the veracity of the chronicler. The true answer to these skeptical inferences is not to deny the facts, which are patent on the pages of the Holy Book, nor to hide them with a patchwork of cunning and insincere harmonizing, but to interpret them with spiritual insight and from the standpoint of the principles of a progressive revelation. Doubtless the chronicler, writing long after the event, beheld the past through the golden mist of historic imagination; it does not follow that he willfully falsi-

fied the facts and still less that he misinterpreted their religious significance.

> "With us the past doth often win
> A glory from its being far,
> And orbs into the perfect star
> We saw not when we stood therein."

If the bright haze of glory through which they read the past dulled some of its outlines, it also acted as a lens to magnify its deepest spiritual truth. Philosophy comes after events. It is not always easy to see God's presence in the confused life of to-day, but after he has passed by we can behold the splendor of his retreating glory, and cry with the patriarch, "Lo, God was here and we knew it not."

The fresh moral orientation of Scripture through critical reconstruction is also, therefore, an apologetic gain. A needless barrier to faith has been removed when the preacher no longer feels compelled to palliate or explain away ethical perversities or intellectual contradictions in the Holy Book. A rigid literalism and mechanicalism is helpless in the presence of a multitude of difficulties for which the traditional theories of composition and authorship furnish no explanation excepting forced and unnatural harmonies. It is often alleged by superficial scholars that many of the phenomena discovered by the higher criticism are simply repetitions of the blasphemies of Voltaire, Paine, and other eighteenth century skeptics. Surely, "a lie which is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies." The fact is that the objections to Christianity raised by these enemies of faith were based on real difficulties. For these perplexing phenomena, on account of which they denied the divine revelation, traditionalism had no answers save those which either wrested the Scriptures themselves or did violence to the human understanding; the historical and literary criticism, however, has thrown these into their proper perspective by the methods of scientific analysis, and so furnishes a natural explanation. So long as we confound the form with the substance of Christian teaching there is the endless obligation and the impossible task imposed upon the teachers of religion to defend every possible flaw in the earthen vessels which have conveyed to us the heavenly treasures. The modern method, which dares to discriminate between the temporal and eternal in Holy Scripture, sweeps away at once the trivialities of a credulous dogmatism and the shallow sophistries of a superficial skepticism. The alleged "mistakes of Moses" collapse in a moment when placed in this larger light. We need no longer, ostrich-

like, hide our heads in the sand and refuse to see the problems that have perplexed sincere souls as well as given weapons to dishonest denial and doubt. It is a divine discrimination which has taught us that the healing is neither in the hem nor the robe of the Master who wears it, but in our Lord himself, and that his living efficacy is not hindered by flaws in the weaving of his garment nor the dust on the hem which it has gathered along the road of the ages.

Such have been some of the perils of the new criticism, and such the splendid promise of the gains. Certainly there is nothing to warrant the hysterical condition into which some have fallen. The seeming condescension of superiority implied in the word "higher," the ignorant misuse of the word "criticism," as if it principally involved unfavorable judgments, and were merely finding flaws in the sacred writings, the hasty results of "freak" criticism in some radical quarters,[1] the illegitimate confusion of philosophic with literary and historical criticism—these have discredited the careful work of devout scholarship among the unthinking. The minister, above all men, should set about the grateful task of reassuring troubled minds and burdened hearts. The fact is that the word "criticism," both by its etymological and in its scientific use, merely means discernment, discrimination, and judgment. To criticize the Bible is simply to do justice to it. The realm of criticism always begins the moment we pass the bounds of personal experience. Things outside that realm are brought into experience only by an act of judgment. It is the fundamental principle of Protestantism that religious belief is no exception to the rule governing truth in general. The right of private judgment is not a denial of authority, but the assertion that authority is only such by credentials which provoke the assent of the critical sense. All men who form any mental concepts or utter any forms of propositional judgments employ the critical method. Some do it with the help of dogmatic presuppositions and *a priori* speculative theories, and so reach results tainted with personal bias; others begin by criticizing their own mental process, and reach their results

[1] An outstanding example of this "freak" criticism, which is really criticism committing suicide, is found in the work of such men as Bruno Bauer, Loman, Pierson, Steck, Von Manen, and others, who reject the Pauline authorship of Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians. Now if there are any writings in all literary history which carry in their internal structure the evidences of authenticity, they are precisely these four great letters. To deny their Pauline authorship is to assert the futility of all critical methods. Even so radical a writer as H. J. Holtzman says: "For ten years a determined effort was made by Holland and Switzerland to ascribe all the epistles of Paul as not genuine to the second century; this attempt has found no support from German theology."

with the help of scientific canons of evidence. When the belligerently orthodox Gilbert Chesterton notes that very valuable fact in our Lord's mental method, his frequent use of the *a fortiori* appeal,[1] he is quite as truly a higher critic as is Wellhausen in disengaging the threefold strands of the life and legislation of Israel. We are all critics of some sort or other. To dispense with criticism is to be without judgment.

The science of biblical criticism, therefore, needs to be placed in its right light before the people, as the glorious consummation of the Protestant principle of soul-liberty as its religious ground, and of the grammatico-historical exegesis as its scientific ground. The ideas of the Reformation will continue to make their way in spite of bigots and obscurantists. In the meantime confessions remain to confuse us and hierarchies to harry us; and the one great papacy is giving way to countless little papacies with much less historical reason for being. Still a great, even an incalculable service was accomplished when the Bible took the place of the church as objective authority in religion. For this is a great glory of Holy Scripture, that while a false misunderstanding of its relation to Him who alone is the truth may blind us to its highest worth, it will at last, if patiently studied and loyally trusted, render the high service of freeing us from bondage to its letter by imparting its own spirit of freedom. Without any need of defining the measure or mode of its inspiration, he who studies it with open mind and heart feels the truth of the free Spirit moving through it; every leaf of its forest of truth quivers with his power, and even the deadest branch of obsolete custom, crumbling chronicle, or sapless genealogy sways in the onward sweep of the wind of God. The vital principle of the Reformation remains to be worked out. That principle teaches the privacy of the relations of every individual soul to God, a privacy sacred from the intervention of any outward thing, not to be defined by dogma nor mediated by ministering priest. The essence of religion is spiritual, and this inward liberty must be granted up to its farthest consequences.[2]

[1] Orthodoxy, p. 272.

[2] The May-June number of this REVIEW will contain a discussion of the Authority and Inspiration of Holy Scripture in the light of the new learning.

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

THE lessons from prophetic history, with a view to their present-day application, are continued in this number in two studies on Elijah, the prophet. The preacher will find abundant expository material in such sermon series as those of Krummacher, W. M. Taylor, and J. R. Macduff's "Prophet of Fire." Farrar's volume on 1 Kings in the Expositor's Bible and Milligan's life of Elijah are full of helpful suggestions. On the imaginative side Peter Bayne's tragedy of "Jezebel" has much penetrating beauty. In these discussions little attention will be paid to critical problems, for the reason that the sole purpose is to emphasize moral and spiritual values. But on those questions much help may be found in Cheyne's Hallowing of Criticism. But the preacher should not fail to familiarize himself with Mendelssohn's oratorio on "Elijah," especially the great solos "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," "It Is Enough," and such mighty choruses as "Baal, Hear Us," and "Thanks Be to God."

THE MEETING OF HOSTILE MORAL FORCES

Elijah's period of retirement lasted, according to the New Testament, three and one half years. (Perhaps this is but a figurative number, half of the perfect seven, a period of want, suffering, and judgment, the time, times and half a time of apocalyptic symbolism.) That time had not been lost for the prophet. By the brook in the gorge the ravens had taught him faith; in the cottage at Zarephath the human touch of the widow and her son had taught him love.

The time is ripe for his return, for the famine had doubtless done its work of warning and conviction. Yet it needed courage to face the king who had been seeking to destroy him. But God is time-keeper for the man of faith; when he says "Wait," we do well to rest and watch; when he cries "Now!" the prophet "went." Doubtless he was quite ready to leave; waiting becomes at last more weary than working; his soul pined for action, and leaped up like the warrior at the blast of the bugle when the command comes to "Carry on."

What a sad prospect met his gaze. The harp of nature is unstrung. The song of the reaper, the mirth of the vintage, the joy of the harvest are all unknown. Gaunt famine stalks wolf-like through the land and the cloudless, burning air rings only with the discordant wail of suffering and the cry of want. Baal, the sun-god, no longer

makes crops but burns his votaries. So sin always rewards its dupes. America can hardly realize the horrors of famine. To-day the white charger of militarism in the Great War has been followed not only by the red steed of slaughter, but by the black horse of famine. This awful procession is repeated again and again in history, when the ripe rottenness of social decay attracts the divine thunderbolt of doom. The pale horse of death always follows at the end of the awful parade. In Hiawatha the horror of famine is vividly pictured:

> O the famine and the fever!
> O the wasting of the famine,
> O the blasting of the fever!
> O the wailing of the children!
> O the anguish of the women!
> All the earth was sick and famished.
> Hungry was the air around them,
> Hungry was the sky above them,
> And the hungry stars of heaven
> Like the eyes of wolves glared at them!

And so again the pagan and the puritan are brought face to face. God led them both, the king and the prophet; the one by his voice, the other by his needs. Ahab, to save the royal steed, sends forth expeditions to search for hidden fountains, beneath every bunch of flax or clump of withered greenery. At last they come to where Kishon's shrunken waters crawled like a wounded serpent to the sea. For famine has touched the court of Ahab. In any public calamity the great, rich, and powerful are the last to suffer, but they cannot escape forever.

So at last they meet. There are no accidents with God. Saul, seeking asses, found a kingdom; another Saul, persecuting Christians, found Christ. God's clocks always keep time; his trains are never late; he always makes connections. It was an upright steward of the royal court that brought them together—Obadiah, who had secretly rescued many servants of Jehovah from martyrdom. "Faithful among the faithless, only he."

So piety blooms in unexpected places. There is a devout widow in Zidon, and now a devout officer at the court of Ahab; we shall soon discover there were more than seven thousand such in Israel. The world story is full of examples. Even soldiers have been pious: Cromwell, Gustavus Adolphus, Havelock, Stonewall Jackson, Hedley Vickers, O. O. Howard, Admiral Mahan, Foch, and Haig. In the days

of the cruel Nero, there were saints in Cæsar's palace in the very shadow of the tyrant's throne. "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Yet there the spotless Jesus grew up. Holy souls are found in false churches, whose hearts are better than their heads: Bernard, Fénélon, Pascal, Newman, Channing.

And it is possible to remain religious in an evil environment. Circumstances are no excuse for apostasy. Whatever station encloses a duty is a safe place for a soul. Ease is sometimes more fatal than hardships; few of our useful garden plants do their best in a hothouse. Only a positive piety can stand the test; Obadiah "feared the Lord from his youth." Yet Ahab honored him. Necessity compels kings and rulers to trust the godly man. The speculative banker wants an honest teller, the blasphemer wants a godly teacher for his children, the worldling often wishes his wife to be religious. God-fearing men, Joseph in Egypt, Daniel in Babylon, are the best servants. The wicked world pays at last a grudging homage to goodness. There may have been an element of timidity in Obadiah's nature, but it roused to courage at the prophet's call.

Probably Ahab welcomed the reappearance of Elijah, hoping for some compromise which would end the drought and the famine. The callous and cruel king is on an expedition, not to console the dying, to devise relief, or minister sympathy, like St. Louis of France, among his plague-stricken troops, or the royalties of England, Belgium, and Italy in the World War. No, his selfish purpose is simply to save the coursers that grace his cavalcade or draw his chariots. While Obadiah is feeding hidden prophets, he is only anxious to find fodder for horses and mules.

Ahab has many modern imitators. Luxury often breeds heartlessness. The abodes of wealth are too often gilded dungeons with icicles for their tenants. The expense of poodle-dogs in any large city would feed its starving babies and house the homeless children who are in want of motherhood.

"Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" complains the conscience-smitten king. Faithful preachers are seldom popular with politicians. The wolf accuses the lamb of muddying the water. This is a favorite theory of tyrants, that the reformer is disturbing public order. Such is Herod's estimate of John the Baptist, Lorenzo di Medici's of Savonarola, and the New York machine of Charles H. Parkhurst. Obduracy of heart brings moral blindness. There is a point at which the mercury refuses to mark cold or heat.

The crowned monarch cowers before the kingliness of character. Sin is abashed before saintliness. View the four types in the story, the stern Elijah, the faithful Obadiah, the weak and wicked Ahab, and, in the background, the evil genius of the age, Jezebel. But truth and conscience are stronger than scepter or crown. God's spokesman issues his challenge to the fire test of Carmel. The test is really a popular referendum, based on the fundamentally democratic constitution of Israel. It is a twofold appeal to God and the people.

So they meet—light and darkness, truth facing error—the prophet of Jehovah and the champion of Baal. They come together like two charged thunderclouds, while the nation waits, with bated breath, the bursting of the storm.

The Answer by Fire

There have been some decisive battles in history on which the destiny of nations, and even the world, has hung, such as Marathon, Waterloo, Gettysburg, Chateau-Thierry. Such was the contest of Carmel between two rival religions, the old Baal-worship of Canaan and the younger pure spiritual worship of Jehovah. There is a splendid royalty of righteousness which clothes its herald with authority; the chariots of wrong stop at his signal, and kings fear his face.

The battleground is near the borders of Phœnicia, at an ancient shrine of Baal and later of Jehovah. This beautiful forest-crowned hill, "the excellency of Carmel," is still alive with memories of the conflict, and is called Mt. St. Elijah. We can possibly locate the very spot, a level plateau on the southeastern slope, still called El Murakhah, the place of burning, just as Kishon at its feet is fitly named the river of slaughter. Here is a wide-extended view: North, snow-crowned Hermon; eastward, Tabor and the hills about Nazareth, with perhaps a glimpse of the silver sea of Galilee; south, the plain of Esdraelon, with its suggestions of Deborah, Gideon, the Crusades, Napoleon, Armageddon; and westward the great sea with the isles of Greece beyond. A fit terrene for a great battlefield for truth.

Picture the scene: the king with his nobles, priests in purple and gold, bearing on their breasts either the golden sun-shield of Baal or the silver crescent of Astarte. The multitude throng the amphitheater about the plateau, gaunt with famine, their gleaming eyes blazing out of sunken sockets, expectant on the strange event. And there, in strange contrast, stands the hermit prophet, in the

rude garb of the wilderness—Athanasius *contra mundum,* Luther at the Diet of Worms, Columbus at Salamanca.

Three classes are there, the out-and-out Jehovists and Baalites and the undecided, the latter certainly the larger company. There is a fatal power in compromise which carries the crowd. Very likely, a majority at heart sympathized with Elijah, but the sympathy of a neutral is of little help. He who is on neither side aids the wrong side. The conflict is first between righteousness and unrighteousness. The supreme characteristic of Jehovah above other gods was his demand for the service of righteousness. Morality and religion have not always meant the same thing; the Hebrew prophets made it so. The decision is between laxity under Baal and strictness under Jehovah. Baal will take the lid off, let you have a "good time," does not forbid the wine glass, the card table, the holiday Sabbath. Jehovah will surround you with the blessed barriers of holy law and give the happiness of inward freedom. It was a fight between purity and sensuality. The cause of chastity can only be won by a hard battle. It is a fight between the few and the many, one prophet against eight hundred and fifty priests. "They all do it"—the way of the world, the primrose path of sinful dalliance, is a crowded way, but it leads to the pit. Strong is the force of example, the smile of royal favor or of conjugal influence. It is hard to stand against a tyrant and still harder to resist a mob. There is no more divine right in majorities than in kings.

> So of mankind each mighty master-spirit
> Has stood alone;
> The world's applause unsought for and unheeded,
> Upon the throne
> Of his own mind he sits; of execration
> What storms may roll
> He knows not, fears not, strong in the approval
> Of his own soul!

From the slopes of Carmel rolls the thunder of that lonely voice across the wastes of time, the wreck of nations and of souls: "How long halt ye between two opinions?"

The multitude were silent to the challenge but assent eagerly to the test. It was a fitting one. Baal is the god of fire, appeal to him. Let him roast his own meat. His priests may have the choice of bullocks, the animal sacred to Baal and made by Jeroboam the symbols of Jehovah at the schismatic shrines of Bethel and Dan. Let

them have the middle hours of the day when the sun-god has most power. But the test was equally suggestive to Israel, they probably already inherited the traditions of the burning bush, the fiery pillar and the Shekinah.

All day goes on the monotonous chant of the pagan priests, "Baal, hear us!" maddening into a mystic choral dance, growing wilder in Bacchantic fury and frenzied self-torture. But all in vain. The sun-god rolls in his chariot through the sky, unheeding the cry of his devotees (he roasts them and not their sacrifice), until at last he begins to burn himself out in the western sky.

The preparation of Elijah is significant. (1) He rebuilds the altar of Jehovah. All reforms and progress must rest upon the foundations of the past. (2) He symbolizes the need of unity by using twelve stones, thus rebuking the schism in Israel. To-day greater unity in the church would help bring down the fire of God. "One accord" is part of the secret of Pentecost. (3) He guards against the imputation of fraud by deluging the offering with water. Cheating is not unknown in religious history, witness the holy fire at Easter in the Greek Church of the Holy Sepulcher. (4) Prayer. See him kneeling against the glowing sky of evening, with the shadows rising in the hollows of the hills and slowly widening on the plain, while the sun hangs like a golden temple lamp above the western waves. There is an expectant stillness. The frantic rage of the priests has died in exhaustion, while the calm prayer of the prophet of the Lord rises clear and firm through the still twilight air.

He ceases; the hush is fearful in its awful calm. Hath Jehovah, like Baal, no ears? When—a hurtling crash of thunder, and from the riven skies *Fire falls!* It is like no other fire, it burns from above downward, and lifts offering, altar, earth and all upward to the God of heaven. The people, silent at the challenge to choice, are conquered by the triumphant test, and, falling on their faces, shout: "Jehovah, he is the God!" While Elijah, a "girt and glorious homicide," slays the priests of Baal beside the stream of slaughter, and Kishon's shrunken stream runs red to the sea, already crimson with the lifeblood of the dying day. There is no proper defense for this bloody deed; it can only be interpreted as a part of that primitive process by which savage men were taught the majesty of right. Elijah, at Horeb, will be taught a wiser and better way.

The waters are still unruffled, no cloud yet dims the zenith, but Elijah, more sympathetic with nature's moods than the multitude,

glimpsing a rising shadow like a man's hand on the horizon, cries, "I hear the sound of the feet of the rainstorm." And soon the thirsty earth is glad again in God's gift of rain.

Prayer has the same power in our day against the false gods of our own time, the eternal deification of force and lust. The positiveness of denial and doubt can only be victoriously met by the assurance of faith.

THE ARENA

JAMES M. BUCKLEY—HUMAN BEING

To most people James M. Buckley is a figure. They have known him only as they have read his writings or about him. Possibly they have seen him occasionally on the platform or in the General Conference. Even if they have casually met him, they have brought to that meeting a conception that casual acquaintance could not overcome. Doctor Buckley to most people is a machine: one of the finest geared, truest running, most perfectly synchronized machines that ever was put together, but still a machine. He was, in the thinking of most people, a man devoid of sentiment or heart. A surgical operation would have revealed a bag filled with sawdust where most people have a heart. The springs of tenderness and human kindness had long since dried at their source. A vindictive fighter, an implacable enemy, a ruthless steamroller, these are the figures of speech that would fittingly describe this man in the judgment of most people. Multitudes were glad to have him as their champion of the right, not because they loved him, but because they trusted the machine.

The real Doctor Buckley was very different from this conception. He was human to the core. Tenderness and sympathy were characteristic of him; a genuine love of men was very near the surface. He was intolerant of meanness. He was scornful of and often vindictive against littleness. He loved a worthy combat. He used every power he had to achieve victory for the side he thought was right. He had confidence in his convictions. But he fought fair. He admired his antagonist if he was a worthy one. And he could accept defeat gracefully when it came.

It was my privilege to be a member of the same Conference with Doctor Buckley for twenty-two years. For the last sixteen years of that time I believe I can say we were close friends. On his invitation I have taken many long walks with him, have been entertained in his home and have advised with him concerning decisions to be made. He has asked me to write articles for the *Advocate*. He has asked my opinion on editorials he had written. He took me for a long walk at Minneapolis and asked my advice as to whether he should retire or continue in office. I mention these facts merely to show that I had opportunity to know the man, Doctor Buckley. This close acquaintance revealed his very human qualities.

I had always been told that Doctor Buckley was ruthless against an

opponent and would resort to any tactics to achieve victory. When I had been a member of Conference only four years, I espoused the side opposite to him on a question before us, and when the Conference voted the side I was on won by a small majority. Doctor Buckley congratulated me on the victory. Two years later I was compelled to take the floor after he had spoken and try to show him and the Conference that he had slipped a cog in his memory of the facts, from which he had drawn a false conclusion. When I sat down Doctor Buckley arose and said, "I desire to say that Brother Richardson is right in every particular and I was wrong. I wish to sustain him." This was the man who was said to be implacable and never to own mistake. From that day on Doctor Buckley adopted me as one of his friends to my great joy—we frequently differed, but we never quarreled.

One of the human qualities that the onlooker would not suspect was a deep fund of humor. His wit was well known. Often its scathing scorched an opponent; but the source of his wit was a love of fun. He walked through life extracting a great deal of innocent enjoyment out of it. One of his favorite schemes was to pretend to be deaf and dumb. He would go into a restaurant or barber-shop or store and make signs. When they failed to understand he would motion for pencil and paper. Then would ensue a conversation by pencil and pad. At the close of the interview he would bid his acquaintance "Good-day" in a loud tone and with a mischievous twinkle in his eye.

He told me of one time when he went to a convention—few people were there at the time. He sat near the rear. He noticed a couple of women who were evidently talking about him. To give them something to talk about he took off one of his shoes and put it in the pew next to him, sole up.

He appreciated a joke whether it was on himself or not. Once in Florida he went into the dining room of the hotel, leaving his hat with the colored man at the door. When he came out the porter handed him his hat. "How did you know that was my hat?" asked Doctor Buckley. "I don't know whether it's yours or not, boss," was the reply, "I only know it was the hat you gave me." Doctor Buckley repeated this with great enjoyment.

He was always seeking knowledge. On his walks he would stop whenever he thought he could extract information from anyone he met. Questions on their work, how it was done, etc., gave him many facts for future use. If the man was one to whom he thought he could give a reward for the information imparted, he would give a dollar or sometimes two at the close of the conversation.

Doctor Buckley was always ready to render assistance in case of worthy need. If trouble or sorrow came to any friend or acquaintance he would gladly assist in alleviating the trouble as he was able. A letter of sympathy, a subscription to help, a lecture to ease matters, all these were freely given. I never knew a worthy cause to be presented to him in vain. Because of his sympathy for the distressed he was the prime

mover in the founding of the first hospital in America under Methodist Episcopal auspices; and the inspiration of, and for many years the President of, the Asylum for the Insane of the State of New Jersey. Both of these institutions were objects of his solicitude during many years.

To his friends the real Doctor Buckley was a very attractive and lovable personality—a charming companion, a most entertaining conversationalist, a kindly, sympathetic, loyal friend.

E. G. Richardson.

THE TWILIGHT ZONE

The twilight zone that lies between sense and nonsense is very alluring to a type of intellect that constitutes a goodly portion of humanity.

In contrast with the scientific mind that demands facts and a logical sequence of reasoning before accepting a statement as a truth we have this type of intellect occupying the twilight zone between sanity and insanity. These people accept, as a fact, any statement that appeals to their fancy, and any fantastic line of reasoning that can be twisted to justify their position.

To them there is nothing material. What apparently is, is not. They recognize no sense of pain, no disagreeable odor, no repulsive diseases or unsightly deformities.

This twilight zone blends on its shady side into the recognized zone of insanity. Here we find the paranoiac and paretic dement. They too have their hallucinations. Though clothed in rags, the paranoiac to himself may be a monarch whose imaginary vassals come at his beck and call. Or he may be a great musician or orator who holds his audience spellbound. Or he may be a millionaire with divers and peculiar possessions. Though he may be confined within his ward and its whitewashed walls, who can deny that he derives as much pleasure from his possession of the state house or Panama Canal as the real millionaire does from his actual possessions?

On being released from the hospital after recovering from one of his periodical attacks of insanity, Charles Lamb wrote one of his friends that he had been having a most delightful time, and that he almost regretted having been transferred from that world of romance to one of sordid reality. And much more evidence could be produced to prove that balance of mind is not always an unmixed blessing. Then why not utilize this twilight zone to the good of humanity?

Normal man by taking thought cannot add a cubit to his stature. Yet the inhabitants of this twilight zone, by taking thought, readily convince themselves that all their natural senses are nil. What they see, hear, feel, smell and taste, after taking thought, do not exist. What a blessing! I must confess that to me pain, disease, deformity, and suffering are repulsive; and I think that all normal people feel as I do about these things. As long as we see the possibility to correct the wrong, cure the disease, or relieve the suffering, the altruism in us overcomes the repugnance. But when we can no longer render a service, why not utilize

the twilight zone? Why not allow these unfortunates to be transported there? They might be segregated with those who have this crick in their reasoning. As they recognize no deformity, disease, disagreeable odor or unsightly sore, these unfortunates could not be offensive to them. They might even be able to proselyte them so they no longer could recognize their unfortunate condition. This would not only be a great blessing to the afflicted, but would lift a burden from the shoulders of the normal members of society.

C. P. Cook.

Des Moines, Iowa.

JESUS SPEAKS TO AMERICA

These are days when the wisest men are, at times, in doubt as to the course America should pursue in international relations. But there comes to us a message from one mightier than man, which, if accepted as a course of action, will dissolve all doubts and set America on the way to mightiness no less grand than the Kingdom of Heaven.

Jesus says to us: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." Who can minimize the force of God's Word? Jesus tells us that each part of a man's mind has its peculiar and distinctive excitement. The passions and appetites give forth a turbulent and exhausting experience. The full activity of the domestic and social emotions produces excitement less harsh and violent, but yet tumultuous. The highest conditions of the soul's activity are serene and tranquil. It is to this superior calm of a soul that is living in the continuous activity of its highest spiritual sentiments that the term "meekness" should be applied. It designates the whole temper of the soul in the range of its moral and spiritual faculties. The appetites and passions produce a boisterous agitation too coarse and rude for real pleasure or for national advance. The strength of men and nations lies in those faculties which are farthest removed from animal conditions. At the bottom of man's nature lie rude strength, coarse excitement, exhausting impulses. At the top of man's nature the soul puts forth continuous life almost without fatigue, is tranquil under intense activities, and is full of the light of moral intuitions. Meekness is generally thought to be a sweet benignity under provocation. But provocation only discloses and does not create it. It exists as a generic mood or condition of soul, independent of those courses which may bring it to light. In this state, power and peace are harmonized,—activity and tranquillity, joy and calmness, all-seeingness without violence of desire. From these nobler fountains chiefly are to flow those influences which shall control the world.

Awake, America! Heed the words of Jesus! Awake, O church of God! Bind men's souls to the horns of the altar! Man the animal has hitherto possessed the globe. Man the divine is yet to take it. The struggle is going on. Jesus says, "I am the way, the truth."

Pinebluff, N. C. Geo. Studson De Lane.

RELATIVE STRENGTH OF PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES

STATISTICS for American churches, taken from official denominational year books and the Catholic Directory, are compiled every year by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and published in the annual "Year Book of the Churches." The United States Census Bureau has issued reports on Religious Bodies for 1890, 1906, and 1916. Some religious statistical census material goes back of 1890 by a few decades. The new census of religious bodies will be finished in 1923, and published in 1926.

The report of the Year Book of the Churches for 1920 gives the Protestant churches a membership of 25,980,456, the Roman Catholic Church a population of 17,549,324.

Roman Catholic figures include all baptized persons, Protestant figures as a rule only actual members. This excludes most children and several million members of Protestant families not church members, but Protestant in sentiment, who would be included in the Catholic method of estimating population. Roman Catholic statistics are sound from the point of view of the polity of that church, but account must be taken of its different basis in comparing figures. The Lutheran churches, for example, report for 1920, 2,451,997 confirmed members and 3,652,010 baptized persons and it is often claimed that there is a Lutheran population in America of approximately ten millions. The editor of the Year Book estimates that if the Roman Catholic method of counting were followed the Protestant membership would approximate 40,000,000. This is, of course, an estimate.

Dr. Walter Laidlaw of New York, a consulting statistician of the census, and an authority on religious and population statistics of New York City, estimates by careful study of American and Canadian religious statistics, that the Protestant "population" of the United States is above 70 per cent of the total population. "Roman Catholic figures as always," he says, "are population figures of parishes, not a summation of membership rolls. They present the Roman Catholic estimate of the practical adherents of the Roman Catholic Church in all its parishes in the nation." Dr. Laidlaw's studies were made at the request of the War Plans Division of the War Department, and have been approved by the General Staff.[1]

The figures of the Census Bureau reports on religious bodies from 1890-1916 and the Year Book of the Churches for 1920 reveal much interesting and important information. The increase of church membership in all bodies by decades is as follows: 1890, 21,699,432; 1906, 35,068,058; 1916, 41,926,854;[2] 1920 (Year Book of the Churches), 44,788,036.

The Protestant increase from 1890-1906 was from 14,007,187 to 20,287,742; the Roman Catholic from 6,241,706 to 12,079,142; a relatively heavier Catholic gain, due largely to immigration.

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[1] Federation, New York, July 21, 1920, p. 2.

[2] Census 1916. Religious Bodies, p. 29.

From 1906 to 1916 the increases of the large religious bodies in percentages were as follows:

Roman Catholic	10.06
Methodist Episcopal	24.5
Presbyterian (Northern)	36.6
Protestant Episcopal	23.2
Baptist (Northern)	17.1
Congregational	13.
[3]Russian Orthodox	421.6

The increase of these seven Protestant bodies from 1906-1916 was 3,312,359, as compared with a Roman Catholic gain of 1,511,060.

These percentages reveal a much heavier gain by the Protestant Churches during the decade of 1906-1916 than by the Roman Catholic. They also establish the fact, by comparison with the rapid gain of the previous decade, that the Roman Catholic increase is mainly from immigration. This coincides with the experience of Protestant pastors that the inflow from the Roman Catholic into the Protestant bodies is greater than the counter flow. Protestant churches in the United States are also, as a rule, more careful about proselytizing than their Roman Catholic brethren. At any rate their methods are different. We have nothing corresponding to the great Catholic missions to "non-Catholics," but our missions to Roman Catholic countries even the scales.

The following figures of increases from 1906 to 1916 for three large cities are instructive:

	1906	1916
NEW YORK		
Roman Catholic	1,663,265	1,545,562
Protestant Episcopal	95,534	106,661
Presbyterian (Northern)	48,914	61,707
Methodist Episcopal	49,970	50,745
Baptist (Northern)	43,601	45,564
Congregationalist	21,096	25,230
WASHINGTON		
Roman Catholic	51,503	51,542
Baptist (Southern)	26,203	27,544
Protestant Episcopal	13,692	18,295
Methodist Episcopal	11,019	13,085
Baptist (Northern)	10,777	9,667
Presbyterian	8,162	9,338
Congregational	2,984	3,255
CHICAGO		
Roman Catholic	669,134	718,111
Methodist Episcopal	29,456	33,676
Presbyterian (Northern)	21,341	27,408
Baptist (Northern)	18,022	24,487
Protestant Episcopal	19,275	22,233

These statistics reveal first the enormous strength of the Roman Catholic Church in cities. They show, however, an actual decrease of

[3]Census 1916. Religious Bodies, p. 34.

Roman Catholic membership in New York during the decade of 117,703! and that in spite of the rapid growth of Washington, the Roman Catholic Church was at a standstill in the national capital during the decade. On the other hand, with the exception of the Northern Baptists in Washington, the Protestant churches have shown a steady growth.

[4]The total population of New York by religious population groups, not by membership, in 1910, and based upon house to house studies made by the New York Federation of Churches, is given by Dr. Laidlaw as follows:

Protestants	1,785,316
Roman Catholics	1,672,618
Greek Catholics	56,764
Jews	1,252,135

One other comparison, by geographic areas, needs to be stated to portray the religious map of the United States. The Roman Catholic Church is very strong in the middle Atlantic States, especially in the cities, where it is preponderant, totaling 5,366,848. But in the Southern States the situation is reversed. Of the four million and more inhabitants of the Appalachian Mountains, few have any knowledge of the great mother church. The figures which follow for two sections of the South illustrate the situation:

[5]South Atlantic States

Roman Catholic	455,509
Methodist Episcopal, South	850,415
Baptist (Southern)	990,067

[5]East South Central States

Roman Catholic	252,842
Methodist Episcopal, South	562,472
Baptist (Southern)	816,521

These figures leave out of account the Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Disciples, and Colored Churches. The colored people are all but solidly Protestant.

These statistics are given as matters of fact and in a spirit of good will, as one might compare figures between Protestant communions. The better Protestant sentiment, which cares more for the spiritual welfare of the people than for ecclesiastical organizations, prefers to see the immigrant loyal to his faith, and encourages such loyalty. The breaking away from the Synagogue and from the Roman Catholic Churches, which is taking place, for example, in New York, is a public misfortune. The social and personal need is for an intelligent loyalty on the part of their members to liberalized and cooperative Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches and Hebrew Synagogues.

One is glad to note that Protestants and Roman Catholics are more and more cooperating in social and community work, as was done during the war, and that a basis of confidence is being constructed, but very slowly. One interesting illustration of this is a recent study of the disas-

[4] Census 1916, summaries by cities, Federation, Vol. 6, No. 4, p. 2428.

[5] Census 1916. Religious Bodies, p. 532 seq.

trous street railway strike in Denver, Colorado, which occurred during July and August, 1920. Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish Churches of Denver united to finance this study, and the study was conducted jointly by representatives from the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

WORTH M. TIPPY.

BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE BIBLICAL CONCEPTION OF THE FUNCTION OF THE "FIRMAMENT"

WHEN the ancient Hebrews saw the sky overhead, what did they think it was, a "firmament," as the text of Gen. 1. 6 has it, or an "expanse," as the margin has it? and what was its function?

It has become a recently established view that the *raqi'a*, translated "firmament," was conceived as a solid vault whose function it was to hold the upper waters in reservoir fashion, and let them down upon the earth through windows literally understood. This is supposed to be the representative Hebrew view which they shared with the Babylonians. This interpretation has displaced an earlier one, according to which the *raqi'a* is an "expanse," or vault, in which the clouds and winds have their abode (Saalschuetz, Archæologie, vol. ii, p. 67). When the newer view was first argued, some attention was given to the biblical passages pointing in the other direction; so Dillmann, in his commentary on Gen. 1. 6-8, says that at a later time the Hebrews formed a more physically correct view of the formation of the clouds and rain as coming through mists arising from the earth.

Schiaparelli (Astronomy in the Old Testament, pp. 31-36) has given the newer view full statement. His view is that the "firmament" was considered a vault of great solidity, whose main function it was to support an upper ocean. By means of flood-gates, or portcullises (Hebrew: *aruboth*), the upper waters came to be distributed over the earth in the form of rain. This conception, he claims, takes away from the clouds their principal function of bringing rain. "This crude cosmography is not, however" (Schiaparelli says), "that of all the biblical writers; it is not that, for example, of the learned and gifted thinker who wrote the Book of Job. In his opinion it is the clouds that contain the rain, and distribute it over the earth. The evident connection, however, of clouds with rain could not escape the notice of observers, however superficial, and we find some traces of it"; and he refers to four biblical passages.

Schiaparelli is an Italian and writes from the point of view of an astronomer. But although his book was translated into English with the sanction of the late Canon Driver, his use of the biblical material is often uncritical and inconsistent; but he at least indicates that there is another view in the Old Testament. But in the more recent commentaries and Bible dictionaries very little mention is made of the other view; and it would seem that the one view has come to hold undisputed sway.

My interest in the question was awakened by reading Professor William Fairfield Warren's The Earliest Cosmologies, reviewed by the writer in the REVIEW (Jan.-Feb., 1910). It belongs to the credit of Professor Warren to have called in question the correctness of ascribing to the ancients too crude views of the universe. Although it does not discuss the question before us, it led me to a reexamination of the data upon which the prevailing view rests. I found, as will appear in the discussion, that the prevailing view is due to an overemphasis of one passage, Gen. 1. 6-8, which, even if it is correctly interpreted, represents but the writer of the Priestly Code (P), and the ignoring of another view which is represented by a series of passages extending through the entire period of Old Testament literature from its earliest beginnings to its latest parts.

The method proposed in the discussion is a chronological survey of the biblical passages involved with a view to the question suggested by Schiaparelli: What function do the clouds have in the view of biblical writers; and how do they conceive the rain to come?

1. Judges 5. 4, 5:

> Yahweh, when thou wentest forth from Seir,
> Marchedst from the region of Edom,
> The earth quaked, the heavens swayed (?);
> The clouds dripped water,
> The mountains streamed before Yahweh,
> Before Yahweh, the God of Israel.

This is from the song of Deborah, one of the earliest pieces of Hebrew literature, in the rendering of Professor Moore in his commentary on Judges. It pictures Jehovah coming in a thunder storm to aid his people against the Canaanites. There is a suggestion in v. 21, "The stream of Kishon swept them away," that a heavy rain aided the Israelites in the battle. But in this earliest passage it is the clouds that bring the rain.

2. In the Jehovistic (J) account of the flood, it is the heavy winter rains (Hebrew: *geshem*) which cause the flood; and herein, it is generally understood, is the contrast with P's conception, according to which it is caused by the opening of the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven; that is, the subterranean and celestial oceans (Gen. 7. 12; 8. 2b (J); 8. 2a (P)). As J antedates P by five centuries, the common-sense view of the origin of rain was current long before what Schiaparelli calls the "crude cosmography."

3. In the stories of Elijah, 1 Kings 18. 42-45, dated about the beginning of the eighth century B. C., Elijah is described as being on the top of Mount Carmel. In expectation of a coming rain storm, he has his servant watch the western sky. The servant brings the report: "Behold, there arises a cloud out of the sea, as small as a man's hand." This Elijah takes as an indication that a rain storm is coming, and sends the doubting Ahab the message: "Harness and get down, that the rain hold thee not back. . . . And in a little while the heavens grew black with clouds and wind, and there was a great rain." Here is what we may consider a typical record of a common-sense observation of the coming of a rain storm; and there is not the slightest suggestion of a celestial reservoir. And how

general this common-sense view was in later time is seen in the words of Jesus: "When ye see a cloud rising in the west, straightway ye say, There cometh a shower; and so it cometh to pass." (Luke 12. 54).

4. The prophet Amos (5. 8; 9. 6) says:

> Who [Jehovah] calleth the waters of the sea,
> And poureth them out upon the face of the earth.

In the light of the preceding passage, this can mean only that Jehovah brings rain in the clouds from the (Mediterranean) sea.

5. In Isaiah we find two references. In the song of the vineyard (5. 6) Jehovah says: "And to the clouds I will command that they rain not upon it," which fully agrees with the preceding. In 18. 5, the expression is, "Like a cloud of night-mist in heat of harvest." This refers to the night mists or light rains which fall in Palestine during the hot summer nights. "The westerly winds bring much moisture from the Mediterranean, and this condenses under the action of the cool night air into something like a Scotch mist." (See Gray, Commentary on Isaiah, *ad loc.*) It appears, then, that Isaiah recognizes the clouds as the source of both rain (*matar*) and the night mist or dew (*tal*).

6. In two parallel passages in Jeremiah (10. 13; 51. 16; quoted in Psa. 135. 7) we find a rather full description of the various elements that constitute a storm: thunder, vapors or clouds, lightning, wind, and rain.

> When he thunders there is the sound of waters in the heavens;
> For he causes vapors to rise from the ends of the earth;
> Lightnings for the rain he makes;
> And he brings out the wind from his stores.

We have here the various phases of a storm: the vapors or clouds arise from the earth below; the sky is dense with watery clouds; the lightning causes the rain to fall, and the winds rush from hidden places. Both Dillmann and Schiaparelli agree that Jeremiah's description is physically correct; but it is substantially the same as in the preceding instances.

7. In the Book of Psalms occur five allusions that are in point. 29. 10, "Jehovah is enthroned above the flood." The expression is vague and commentators differ on its meaning. Baethgen takes it as referring to the Flood of Noah; so does Briggs; Duhm takes it as referring to the celestial ocean. But the psalm is a poem on a thunderstorm, and its keynote is "the voice [or thunder] of Jehovah," occurring seven times; and the most natural supposition is that the "flood" here means the cloudbursts which accompany the thunderstorm, and over which Jehovah is enthroned as king, the thought of which is to bring confidence to his people in the hour of terror.

Psa. 77. 17-19 is an instance of the many theophanies in storm clouds, as in Psa. 18, paralleled in 2 Sam. 22; Psalms 29 and 114, and Hab. 3:

> The waters saw thee, O God;
> The waters saw thee; they were troubled;
> Yea, the deeps trembled.
> The clouds poured forth water;
> The clouds gave forth their thunders;
> Yea, thine arrows went abroad.

In the characteristic form of Hebrew poetry, consisting of parallel statements, the poet here mentions two bodies of water. The one is the "deep" (Hebrew *tehom*, Gen. 1. 2), that is, the terrestrial ocean; and the other is the "clouds." There is nothing here of a solid reservoir.

Psa. 78. 23f.:

> And he commanded the clouds above;
> And he opened the doors of heaven;
> And he rained upon them manna to eat
> And gave them grain from heaven.

The verses celebrate Jehovah's providence in the desert. He sent water and food. The water came from the clouds. The clouds, as we have seen from the previous discussion, arise as vapors from the earth below, and, as is indicated here, at Jehovah's command. Does the expression "doors of heaven" here imply the conception of a solid heavenly ocean? If it does, it is here where we meet it for the first time. But the parallelism suggests that the "doors of heaven" is merely a poetic figure for the clouds. The manna came from the clouds, as the rain came. This leaves the clouds still as the only heavenly ocean known to the biblical writers.

Psa. 147. 8:

> Who covereth the heavens with clouds,
> Who prepareth for the earth rain.

This is a clear assertion that the manner in which Jehovah prepares for rain is to cover the heavens with clouds.

Psa. 104. 3:

> Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters.

Amos 9. 6:

> He that buildeth his chambers in the heavens.

Psa. 104. 13:

> He watereth the mountains from his chambers.

The question here is as to the meaning of the word translated "chamber." The Hebrew *'aliyyah* means that which is high up, hence the roof-chamber on the top of a flat-roofed Oriental house. It is from Jehovah's roof-chambers in the heavens that he watereth the earth. But what does it mean that he layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters? According to Baethgen, Duhm, and Briggs, in their commentaries on the Psalms, we are supposed to have here a reference to the solid firmament that holds the celestial ocean. Briggs says: "A series of stories are built up in the water, the beams of the one being laid upon the beams of the other in an ascending series; and so the upper waters were divided from the lower waters." In reading this description one is puzzled as to what kind of a structure it can be that is constructed of beams and founded on water! Wellhausen (Psalms, Sacred Books of the Old Testament, *ad loc.*) renders the verse "Thou framest out of water thine upper stories" and suggests in the notes: "The upper stories are built of water, not of beams." This is far more reasonable. Verse 13 Wellhausen renders: "From thine upper stories—

of clouds—thou givest drink to the mountains." Jehovah's roof-chambers, figuratively understood, are thus built of watery clouds; and this is in harmony with all the other passages we have so far considered.

8. In the Book of Job, we have already been told, we may look for better than crude notions. In 26. 5-14, we have an extensive poem on the creative power of God. It is highly advanced in conception, and in verse 7, "He hangs the earth upon [or 'over'] nothing," we have a discarding of the pillars on which the earth was supposed to rest, and an approach to scientific conceptions. Strictly relevant to our discussion is verse 8:

> He rolls up the waters in his thick clouds,
> But the clouds burst not under them.

The clouds are thought of under the figure of water skins, used by Orientals to carry water, and in 38. 37, are actually compared to "water-bottles"; and it expresses the marvel how the celestial body of water can be held up without any further support. The same thought is expressed in the Elihu speeches, 37. 16,

> Dost thou understand the balancing of the clouds,
> Marvels of his who is perfect in knowledge?

The poise of the clouds in the sky, heavily laden with moisture, floating without support, was regarded as the evidence of God's wisdom and power. How a solid celestial reservoir would have simplified the problem, if it had been known.

Job 38. 4-38, is part of the speech of Jehovah. It is a survey of Jehovah's creative work and his power over the forces of nature, and follows closely the order and content of the creation account in Genesis. It is remarkable and of much meaning in our discussion that it mentions all the essentials of the creative work, but does not mention the firmament nor the celestial ocean. Verses 34-38 deal with the clouds and rain:

> Liftest thou to the clouds thy voice,
> And do the water-heaps answer thee?
> Dost thou send lightnings that they go,
> And do they say to thee, Here we are?
> Who places wisdom in weatherclouds,
> Or gives insight to meteors?
> Who musters the clouds in wisdom,
> And pours out the water-bottles of heaven?

It is God alone to whom the forces of nature bow in submissive obedience; and it is the acme of divine wisdom and power to make the clouds perform their function.

Job 36. 27-33, belongs to a section of the Book of Job that on the evidence of the ancient versions has suffered much from transcription. By a slight change (the adding of an *m* between two words), Duhm reads verse 27:

> He draws drops out of the sea,
> Distills rain out of his mist;
> Which the clouds distill,
> Trickle over many men.

Whether we adopt this rendering or follow that of the Revised Version,

it yields the author's knowledge of the law of evaporation already met with in the passages discussed in section 6.

9. The Book of Proverbs contains two references to the two sources of water: the deep, that is, the seas, and the clouds.

3. 19f.:

> Jehovah by wisdom hath founded the earth,
> Established the heavens by understanding.
> By his knowledge the deeps were cleft,
> And the clouds drop dew.

Exactly the same allusion is made to the two bodies of water in 8. 28:

> When he fastened the clouds above,
> And made firm the fountains of the deep.

The Revised Version has changed the Authorized Version's rendering "clouds" into "sky." The Hebrew word, *shechaqim*, comes from a root which means "to beat fine," or "pulverize." The noun means "fine dust" or "thin cloud." It is used as a synonym for the heaven or sky, but it reveals the fact that the Hebrew writers thought of the sky not as a solid mass, but as composed of a fine or thin substance. The same term is used in Job 37. 18:

> Canst thou spread out with him the clouds,
> Strong like a molten mirror?

Barton's comment on this verse is: "The reference is to the Hebrew and Babylonian conception of the sky as a solid, overarching vault, in which the stars were fixed and which supported a celestial ocean. Cf. Gen. 1. 6, 7, 14-16." This comes about by translating *shechaqim*, "sky," without paying sufficient attention to its etymological derivation. Whatever the phrase "strong like a molten mirror" may mean, *shechaqim* means the sky as composed of fine, thin clouds, and not of a solid substance. It were better to follow Budde, and take the phrase "strong like a molten mirror" to reflect the author's state of mind, according to which the sky appears to him as covered with heavy, leaden clouds, withholding the light. This is supported by the context and particularly by verse 21, in which the same term *shechaqim* appears. In reconstructed form by Budde it reads:

> And now we see not the light,
> As it is hidden by the clouds,
> But the wind passes by and drives them away.

10. In the Book of Ecclesiastes there are three clear references to the clouds as the source of rain:

11. 3a:

> When the clouds are filled with rain,
> They empty it over the earth.

11. 46:

> He that looks at the clouds will not reap.

12. 22:

> The clouds return after rain.

We have so far examined over twenty references scattered over ten

books of the Old Testament, representing, I believe, all the essential material on the subject, and we have found a general agreement that the clouds, arising from the earth below, are the celestial waters, and that they have the function to bring the rain upon the earth.

We now must examine the passage which is the main basis for the view of the solid celestial ocean, namely, Gen. 1. 6-8: "And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven."

This passage is from the Priestly writer (P), whose date is during the fifth century B. C., occupying in our chronological survey the period between the above sections 6 and 7. If he is correctly interpreted by those who hold the view of the celestial reservoir, he represents another and totally different view. He stands alone; he has gone in the face of the tradition that preceded him; and he has exerted no appreciable influence upon those who came after him.

But there is one passage in the Priestly document that gives us a hint that the Priestly writer knew the common Hebrew view and shared it; and that is the story of the rainbow in Gen. 9. 12-17. "My bow I place in the clouds . . . and it shall be when I bring clouds over the earth, the bow will appear in the clouds; and I will remember my covenant . . . and waters shall not again become a flood to destroy all flesh." The Priestly writer here connects the rainbow with the clouds, and the clouds with the waters of the flood; and implies that the waters of the flood came from the clouds. It is quite possible that the story of the rainbow was once found in the Jehovistic account also; "for," says Wellhausen (Prolegomena ed. 5, p. 316f), "it goes better with the simple rain which here brings the flood than with the opened sluices of heaven and the fountains of the deep which bring it according to P." But P must have considered it in harmony with his view. And indeed it does harmonize with his view and the entire view of the Old Testament writers, as pointed out in this discussion, if we take it that the waters of the "expanse" are not a celestial ocean held up by a solid firmament, but the waters of the sky in the form of clouds held up by the omnipotence of God.

In Gen. 1. 7, it is the translation of the preposition *me'al*, "above" the firmament, which has led to what I consider a distorted view. The preposition *'al*, of which *me'al lc*, as used here, is simply a later pleonastic form, does not always mean "upon," "above," "beyond," or "over"; but it also means "beside," "towards," or "against." In 2 Chron. 26. 19, the same preposition is translated "beside." In Gen. 1. 20, in connection with the flight of birds, *'al pene raqi'a*, cannot mean "on the face of the expanse," as the margin of the Revised Version suggests; for it conveys no meaning to say, "Let birds fly above the earth *on* the face of the expanse of the heavens." The text of the Revised Version, which translates the preposition "in" is much better; but better still would be to translate it "against." It would then read, "Let birds fly above the earth against the

open firmament (or expanse) of the heavens." Skinner, Genesis, *ad loc.*, suggests *'al pene*, "in front of."

It will not appear at all violent but in harmony with Hebrew usage to suggest that in the crucial passage before us, Gen. 1. 7, we translate *mc'al le*, "against," and read: "And God made the expanse, and divided the waters which were under the expanse from the waters which were against the expanse." This comparatively slight change does away with the solid firmament upholding the celestial ocean, nowhere else found in the biblical writers, and leaves the two bodies of water contrasted in many biblical passages, the deep below, and the clouds above.

What then becomes of the "windows of heaven"? We have seen that the clouds are called by a variety of names. They are called *nible shamayim*, "the water-bottles of heaven" (Job 38. 37), they are called *tuchoth*, Job 38. 36, "inward parts," that is, "reins" or "kidneys"; they are called *dalethe shamayim*, "the doors of heaven" (Psa. 78. 23); of course, all figuratively understood. It would not be strange then to take *aruboth hash-shamayim*, "the windows of heaven," in Gen. 7. 11 and 8. 2, as in Mal. 3. 10, in a figurative sense.

Attention has quite naturally been called to the evident parallel in the Babylonian creation story (Tablet IV, lines 136-140) where it is said:

> He split her open like a flat (?) fish into two halves;
> One half of her he established as a covering for the heaven.
> He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman,
> He commanded them not to let the waters come forth.

This passage is largely responsible for the general currency that the view of the solid vault and the celestial ocean has received. It lies beyond the scope of this paper to enter into a detailed discussion of the relation of the Hebrew and Babylonian traditions of the creation and the flood. But I have reread with special care both Babylonian accounts, with a view as to what light they throw upon the current view.

The above quotation from the creation account is poetical and vague; and a great deal depends upon what you bring to the passage as to what you will take out. Jensen and Gunkel have furnished us with the clue as to its original meaning. The Babylonian myth of creation has its origin in the climatic conditions; and its entire imagery can be explained from the changes that pass over the face of nature in the lower Euphrates valley about the time of the vernal equinox. Chaos is an idealization of the Babylonian winter, when heavy rains and the overflow of the rivers have made the vast plain like a sea, when thick mists obscure the light, and the distinction between heaven and sea seems to be effaced. Marduk represents the spring sun, whose rays pierce the darkness and divide the waters, sending them partly downward to the sea, and partly upwards as clouds, so that the dry land appears. (See Skinner, Genesis, page 46.) This origin of the Babylonian story yields nothing that can be construed into a solid vault with a celestial ocean; and on the other hand, it yields everything in favor of a celestial ocean composed of clouds.

The same is true of the Babylonian account of the flood. (It is most

easily accessible in Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament, pages 90-112.) Throughout the entire account the cause of the flood is rain, coming in storm-clouds with winds and tempests, but not a word is said of a celestial reservoir.

It would seem, then, that the current view that the Hebrews and Babylonians believed that the sky was a solid firmament supporting a celestial ocean is based upon the slender evidence of a mistranslated preposition.

Syracuse University. ISMAR J. PERITZ.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

KARL HEIM ON THE CERTAINTY OF FAITH

IT was inevitable that the war should put the brotherly relations between the Christian leaders of the opposing nations to a fearful strain. Yet it was a certainty, fully guaranteed by the Spirit of Christ, that even war itself should not really sever the bond that unites all true believers. For a long time we shall remain more critical toward German theology than formerly, but we shall be ready to listen to what the Christian thinkers of Germany have to say, ready to test all things and hold fast that which is good. And even if there were no bond of Christian sympathy to determine this for us, our scientific interest would be enough to inhibit a systematic neglect of the religious and theological movements in Germany since the war. "What the Christians of Germany are thinking"—this is the significant caption of an important series of reports by Professor James Stalker, of Glasgow, in the British Weekly. All persons who reflect upon the situation must recognize the compelling interest of such an inquiry.

In the last few years we have, in these pages, more often traced the broader tendencies of religious thought and activity than offered characterizations of individual thinkers. Perhaps hereafter rather more of the latter thing will be welcome.

Karl Heim has more than once been noticed in these pages. His rapidly growing influence, however, demands that we now give him ampler consideration and urge all who are interested in the newest phases of religious thought to acquaint themselves with his work. For Heim is the head of a new and very vigorous school of systematic theologians. Indeed, it may be said that Heim and those influenced by him form the only compact and well-defined school of systematic theologians in Germany at the present time. The Ritschlians are no longer a school; various newer tendencies have dissolved the unity of the school. Yet some of the disciples of Ritschl continue to exercise a great influence in the realm of systematic theology as well as in that of historical research. Herrmann, in particular, is a wonderful force in the realm of religious thought. It is, however, more than a score of years since all the leading ideas of his theology were put forth. He is the highest scientific authority

for a notable group of theologians, but with his development and modification of Ritschlianism he forms no school in the proper sense of the term. There is, to be sure, a "history-of-religion school," and it represents a powerful movement. But this school is far less concentrated in its theological tendencies than was the case with the Ritschlian school and is now the case with the school of Heim. The most important accomplishments of the history-of-religion school lie in the domain of historical research; so far as systematic theology is concerned, its tendency has been to dissolve dogma rather than to make a positive contribution to theology. Yet no one can question the immense intellectual force of a man like Troeltsch nor the extraordinary extent of his influence. One meets also with frequent references to the "Erlangen school" or to the school of Kaehler. But the disciples of Frank (Erlangen), such as Ihmels, Seeberg and Gruetzmacher, have modified the Erlangen type in so large a measure that we must think of the "school" as belonging to the past rather than to the present. As for Kaehler, great as his influence has been and still remains, his disciples have never formed a compact school. With Heim, however, the case is different. He is the head of a school whose members are held together by the strongest sense of the oneness of their standpoint and show the most definite concentration upon certain fundamental questions of faith.

The question has often been asked, "In what does Heim's drawing power consist?" The question is most natural, and the answer is not altogether obvious. The question is natural and insistent; for when a *privatdocent* in a famous faculty has gained a more enthusiastic following than any one of the full professors, as was the case while Heim was still at Halle, the curiosity of an interested public is aroused. And already in that period (namely, before 1914) there were unmistakable signs of the first beginning of "the school of Heim." Ritschl had been full professor many years before the publication of the third volume of his work on Justification and Reconciliation in 1874, and he was fifty-two years old at the time. It was this work that formed the basis of the Ritschlian school. But in 1914, before Heim became professor and before he was forty years old, the marks of a school of "Heimists" were as clear as the marks of a school of Ritschlians a year after the completion of the master's great monograph. In 1914, that is, a few months before the outbreak of the war, Heim was made full professor in the newly established faculty for Protestant theology at Münster. The war, of course, greatly limited the number of students that might hear Heim's lectures, but it did not check the growth of the new school of Heimists. For Heim was able from his standpoint to meet the religious needs of the students in arms in an extraordinarily telling manner. Shortly after the close of the war Heim was called to Tübingen as successor to Häring, who was retiring. Here, in one of the four most frequented theological faculties of Germany, he has a most promising field.

But the question as to the secret of Heim's strength we have not yet answered. Such questions, however, can never be fully answered. Only in part do the admirers and reviewers of Heim clear up the matter

for us. Not a few are agreed in saying that what chiefly attracts and holds his hearers and readers is the unsurpassable frankness and earnestness with which he meets all problems. He has a remarkably fine organ of sense for the intellectual and religious problems of the student world and of a larger public. Besides, in his personal intercourse with students —to which he gives himself unstintedly—his wonderful intellectual sympathy causes the students to express themselves with the utmost freedom. But to this remarkable openness of mind there is added a very unusual definiteness and positiveness of personal conviction. The perplexed minds that make known to him their problems he leads up to his own higher standing-ground, where the air is clearer and the outlook is wider. He really offers solutions for the problems, and he does it from a most definite point of view. And while his system and method show the utmost concentration upon one great central idea, Heim is unusually well informed on all modern scientific, philosophical and social theories that seem to have any bearing on the problem of religion. Now Heim's standpoint is that of a most positive and most evangelical Biblical faith. There is something startling, something arresting in the bold way in which he brings the oldest Christian affirmations forward into the very center of the forum of the modern world of thought. He is aware that these affirmations will be challenged, unless indeed they are ignored; and, in order to make ignoring impossible he always makes the affirmation itself a challenge, he assumes the aggressive. It is not strange that a bold exponent of the old faith, who has an almost ideal orientation in modern theories and comes in the fullest sympathy for all who feel the present "theoretical and practical distress," should gain a hearing. And when to this we add that Heim has command of an unusual gift of vivid exposition, perhaps the secret of his success has been fairly indicated.

While Heim has a vivid style, one must not infer that all of his books are easy reading. His "Dogmatik," at least in the first edition, is decidely hard to understand. This, however, is due chiefly to the extreme compression of the work, which is intended only as an outline to underlie his lectures. If one would be duly initiated into Heim's world of thought, he may do well to observe the following directions. Begin with Aus der Heimat der Seele (The Home of the Soul), or perhaps with Die Weltanschauung der Bibel. These are untechnical discussions. In them Heim appears not so much in the rôle of a theologian as in the character of a witness. But this is characteristic of Heim: he is first of all an evangelical witness, and theology is for him nothing but an aid to his ministry of the Word. Heim is an evangelistic theologian, and yet his theology is most vigorous and profound. In these more popular writings there is a wealth of thought, but it is not their intellectual strength that chiefly impresses the reader, it is rather the intensity of their religious conviction and feeling. It would not be easy to match the essays and addresses of these two books for an almost ideal union of religious and intellectual depth. And Heim has put his whole soul and at the same time the gist of his theology in these little books, especially in the Aus der Heimat der Seele.

After reading one or both of these little books one may turn to the Glaubensgewissheit. This is in some sense Heim's principal work up to this time. It can be read with immense interest even without the preliminary reading of the other books, but it will be enjoyed even more if one already has a certain acquaintance with the author's world of thought. It is about this work that the discussion of Heim's theology has turned since its publication in 1916. So vigorous was the discussion that the author was led to rewrite the whole work for the second edition (1920). This book, let it be observed, is not to be confounded with Heim's earlier historical study of The Problem of Certainty in Systematic Theology until Schleiermacher. The Glaubensgewissheit is an exposition of the author's own thoughts on "the vital question of religion."

The Glaubensgewissheit in its second edition is a book of 216 closely-printed pages. It contains a far greater abundance of ideas than the size of the book would lead us to expect. The author's method and manner cannot be described—one must know Heim at first hand. But we will venture on a brief and consciously incomplete characterization of the book.

In the first place we observe that there is nothing of the Ritschlian isolation of religion from the realm of world-knowledge. At this point Heim is in agreement with Troeltsch. In the second place we note that Heim operates very extensively by the use of analogy. Analogies from the various departments of science and from every-day life are brought forward in great abundance, and they are handled in a most telling manner. It must not be inferred, however, that Heim uses the argument from analogy in the same way or with the same object in view as was the case with the anti-deistic arguments of Butler and Paley. These men used the analogy of the assumed *certainties* of the natural world in order to make the claims of supernatural religion seem more probable. Heim takes the opposite course. For him the object of faith is the supreme certainty, and this certainty is arrived at by a suprarational process. He uses analogy not to make religion appear probable—faith gives certainty, not probability; he uses it to show that the alleged certainties of reason and science, if viewed apart from certain great postulates or presuppositions of faith, run into the hopeless antinomies and are not certainties at all. The certainties of science, of reason, and of every-day life rest upon a deeper certainty. In other words, there is a religious presupposition involved in all the certainties even in the realm of our world-knowledge. Heim contends that faith and religion are essentially and wholly *irrational*. (The term "irrational," as Heim and many others use it, does not mean contra-rational, but simply "not based upon nor conditioned by reason"; that is to say, faith is conditioned by positive and solid fact, and it signifies a personal attitude to the given fact, namely, the supreme fact of Jesus Christ; reason neither gives the fact nor is able either to explain or escape it.) Mediæval theology had for its goal the rationalizing of the faith as expressed in dogma: *credo ut intelligam*. The Kant-Ritschlian type of theology aimed at the strict separation of the two domains of knowledge, the ethico-religious and the so-called natural. Heim

repudiates the idea of such a separation, which, he holds, does violence to the fact of the deeper unity of the whole mental and spiritual life. But Heim does not return to the mediæval standpoint, according to which faith should flower in a higher certainty, namely knowledge. For Heim faith itself is the highest certainty. Instead of seeking to show that faith is destined to resolve itself into knowledge he argues that knowledge resolves itself into faith.

In a first cursory survey of Heim's book one may be surprised and displeased to find analogical discussions in the most multifarious fields. But with Heim there is no scattering—everything is concentrated upon the one central question of the certainty of faith. Only, of course, he will not admit anything that looks like the isolation of the religious problem from the other phases of human life.

Heim's discussion of faith's certainty has in it so much that calls for patient thought, and it has such a multitude of points of contact with the world of human thought and life, that we must content ourselves with pointing out the general tendency of the argument. In addition to the fundamental characterization, which has already been given, we call attention to just a few points of interest.

Perhaps the first argument of profound significance in the book is the examination of the nature of our human relations of mutual trust. There is something transcendental in our trust in our fellowman. It is not the result of calculation, it transcends our experience, it reaches into the future and is as sure of it as of the present and the past. Trust is not a bit of gambling on probabilities. And so (as Heim develops the argument) there is a divine, a religious element in all relations of human trust.

Heim's whole theology seeks to answer the question: How am I, here and now, to be saved from my deepest distress? The starting-point is "the deepest need (or distress)." Next comes the necessity of complete clarity regarding the practical significance of the threefold thesis: I, Here, Now. How am I—not another, not the race at large—how am I, I in my present situation, to find release from my deepest distress? I must find it in obedient adjustment to the sovereign, "irrational" fact of Jesus Christ. He saves me not only from my practical, but also from my intellectual distress. Apart from that supreme fact there is no outcome to either my practical nor my intellectual problem. Heim's highly interesting discussion of this standpoint can hardly be reproduced in a few lines.

Heim shows himself very much of an individualist in his theology. He is not wholly wanting in an optimism regarding the social betterment of the race. But he insists with great energy and clearness that the goal is not to be reached under the present world-order. He is an eschatologist of the boldest sort. Not a few of his utterances sound like modern Adventism. But let us not be hasty in placing him in any specific category. Certainly Heim is utterly free from the specific characteristics of premillennialism. His eschatology centers in the person of Jesus Christ. Heim knows nothing of times and seasons, nothing of the material setting

of Christ's return. But he is sure that only Christ can be the Consummator, and he is equally sure that somehow the elements of the present world-order must be dissolved before the consummation is reached.

It is doubtful whether any eminent modern evangelical theologian has had fewer or simpler "points" in his system than Heim. His is an intensely biblical faith, and yet he has permitted some things to fall into the background which most biblical and positive theologians hold fast. But his concentration upon certain great central issues naturally appeals strongly to this sorely distressed age. His "system" is extremely simple, but he expounds it with a wealth of reference to modern problems that is most extraordinary.

The question is often asked, whether the agony of the war might not tend to drive Germany back to the simple gospel. That, however, would mean that distress must naturally lead men to repentance—a thought that finds no support in the teaching of Jesus. Nevertheless it is a blessing, for which the universal church may well give thanks, that a number of genuinely evangelical theologians have been growing in influence since the war.

Portsmouth, N. H. JOHN R. VAN PELT.

BOOK NOTICES

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. By ERNEST DE WITT BURTON. 8vo, pp. lxxxix+541. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Price, $4.50, special, net.

AT last, after twenty-five years of diligent research and meditation, Burton's Commentary on Galatians in the International Critical Series, which many feared was destined, like similar promising projects of Lightfoot, Hort, and Sanday, never to emerge from limbo, is now *un fait accompli* in a stout volume of 630 pages, of which 89 are devoted to a luminous introduction, 362 to the commentary proper, 158 to an appendix of twenty-one topics, and 18 to indexes. Though availing himself of such ample space, the author has confined his "chief attention," as he states, "to a fresh historical study of the vocabulary of the letter, and then to an endeavor to trace its course of thought with exactness and to state it with clearness." All three of these aims he has all but realized in a scholarship which combines Teutonic thoroughness, English sobriety of judgment, and American pith and clarity.

More than ever, in these barbaric days, when the beauty and strength of the Greek language are neglected as was the Parthenon itself under the Turkish regime, and when, with the passing of the doctrine of plenary verbal inspiration, the jot and tittle of the sacred text receive scant attention, Philip the Evangelist's challenge: "Understandest thou what thou readest?" applies with renewed force to the reader of Galatians, be he wayfaring preacher or layman. Burton will be found a good Philip to guide one into an understanding of the letter, and through it, the spirit.

It is the function of sound exegesis to make one hear the biblical writers speaking in the idiom in which they were born. The extempore etymology of the ignorant and unsteadfast, who wrest from the words of the English translation meanings as strange as the wild beasts seen in apocalyptic vision, needs to be eschewed. The apostle who commended grace and taste in speech, was himself a conspicuous example of discriminating skill in the choice and use of the exact word for the interpretation of his thought and feeling. The *ipissima verba* of Galatians are no exception. Like his Master's they are spirit and they are life. One finds the "drawn swords" of the Psalmist in 1. 8-9 and 5. 12, not to mention reverberating thunder and forked lightning; the gentle intonation of maternal tenderness in 4. 19; and a tropical splendor, like that of the celestial city with its gates of pearl, streets of gold, and trees of life-bearing fruit in 5. 22, 23. None of the varied and variegated foundation stones of the apostolic literary fabric have been ignored by this mature student of biblical Greek. A glance at the appendix with its full and learned discussion of the history and contextual meaning of the technical Greek terms for such words as "spirit," "flesh," "just," "justify," "righteousness," "apostle," "law," "sin" fascinates and allures the inquiring mind. In determining the meaning of words as modified and limited by the context, as well as by their history and contemporary usage outside the biblical books, the author is also exceptionally instructive. His study of the single word is like the poet's comprehensive and understanding view of the "flower in the crannied wall, root and all, and all in all."

Equally happy in reaching his second aim, "to trace the course of thought with exactness," the author of this rare volume will escape the criticism passed upon Westcott's great work on the Epistle to the Hebrews —that it is "a commentary rather on the words than on the thoughts of the author." Like the trained anatomist, familiar with the vital office of every tendon, muscle, artery, and vein in the physical organism, this life-long student of Greek syntax feels the structural significance of every item of an opulent system of linguistic connective tissue, of prepositions, conjunctions, participles, moods, and tenses. With logical precision and lucidity, and an admirable typographical arrangement, he enables even the reader who runs through his pages to hold the chain of the apostle's argument.

Finally Dr. Burton's conviction that Galatians is a tract for our times as truly as it was for Paul's, Luther's, and Wesley's is well founded. For an era of recrudescent religious materialism in various phases, theosophical vagaries, crass pre-millenarian, and other literalistic systems of biblical interpretation, confidence in new or old forms of ecclesiastical organization, with a common loss of emphasis upon personal religious experience, a growing indifference to sin public and private, and a general weakening of the religious sanctions of individual and corporate morality, no "Scripture inspired of God, is" more "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness."

To preachers especially this book teaches a sound and fruitful method

of biblical study and preparation for strong, lucid, and edifying expository preaching which will command the respect of the laity, one of whom recently told the writer that his minister since the first three months of his appointment has been threshing over Sunday after Sunday nothing but old straw.

Boston University School of Theology. MARCUS D. BUELL.

A People's Life of Christ. By J. PATTERSON-SMYTH. Pp. 505. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $3.50.

THIS book is precisely what its title calls it, a *people's* life of our Lord. It is one which the common folks, who heard Jesus gladly, can read easily and with pleasure as well as profit. While written from the standpoint of full scholarship, with a careful but conservative criticism of sources and in the full light of a vivid historical setting, there is no pedantry, no confusion of the unlearned mind with burdensome erudition.

The book begins with the Beginning as does the Fourth Gospel; it ends with the ascension, when the Son of Man, declared Son of God by the resurrection power, returns to his Father's glory. The truly human life of Jesus hangs between two eternities, without beginning and without end. While the work is without dogmatic purpose, it does not dodge such problems as that of the Virgin Birth. And this is its sane conclusion: "The church did not believe the Virgin Birth because it was put into these Gospels, but it was put into these Gospels because the church believed it. St. Matthew and St. Luke have the whole church behind them."

Here is a pretty picture of the boy at Nazareth "playing in the market place the games of the unchanging child-world such as our children play to-day":

"Did you ever think how unchanging is that child-world, that world which changes nothing in all the passing centuries, playing the same sort of games to-day and singing the same sort of rhymes as their child-world has been doing since the Tower of Babel? As you hear the children to-day singing in the streets 'London Bridge is broken down' and 'Round and round the mulberry bush,' so two thousand years ago you might have heard the Nazareth children:

> 'We have piped and ye not *rakedtoon*,
> We have mourned and ye not *arkedtoon*.'

And Jesus remembered that rhyme one day in the midst of a solemn discourse. In English it reads: 'We have piped unto you and ye have not danced, we have mourned unto you and ye have not wept.' But Jesus was quoting one of the old familiar lines of his boyhood. This is one of the delightful little discoveries of biblical scholars. You cannot get it rhyming in the English or in the Greek. Only in the language of the Nazareth children. And I shall never again hear the children singing in the marketplace without thinking of that rhyme and the child Jesus at play."

A charmingly original treatment is Book V, the "Memories of the Jerusalem Road," in which the three hundred verses, found only in Luke's Gospel, that bridge the interval between Capernaum and Calvary, are interestingly interpreted. Of course, the author does not wholly ignore the critical certainty that Luke freely uses historical situations as a setting for the teachings of Jesus, but like Luke he makes them the fitting framework for those great pictures of the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, Responsibility and the Great Assize.

A multitude of lives of Christ have appeared since that of Farrar, with its gorgeous rhetoric, but we know of none better adapted to popular use and as a historical handbook in the family for religious education than this most fascinating, yet scholarly, life of our Lord.

The Theology of the Epistles. By H. A. A. Kennedy, D.D., D.Sc. 12mo, pp. xii+267. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.35.

We need to be constantly reminded that the New Testament is the literary expression of a living experience and not the exposition of a dogmatic system. These writings have the accent of earnest religious individuality, and the faith of the writers was based upon direct access to the source of life in Jesus Christ. The epistles were not primarily intended for publication; they were letters addressed mostly to Christian communities in response to immediate needs. Their vitality is that of the Divine Spirit, and though directed to local situations, they were destined to become interpretations of the Christian faith, valid for all time. Professor Kennedy of New College, Edinburgh, here offers a balanced discussion of the thought and teaching of these letters. He has omitted the Johannine Epistles because they involved a discussion of the Fourth Gospel; but he has done his work so well that we regret this omission to consider their "momentous simplicities," to use an apt characterization by Dr. Gore.

A large amount of space is devoted to the Pauline writings not because there is more material but because of the wide range of the Apostle's influence in recreating "heathen Christianity" and in purifying "Jewish Christianity," in the interest of the complete constructive Christianity, which is preeminently the religion of redemption. "The Apostle Paul is, of all men, the least likely to satisfy mechanical tests. His was one of those spontaneous, ardent, conquering natures, whose vitality and daring were subject only to the mind and will of Christ." His conversion-experience was normative for his religious thought and he invariably interpreted his spiritual past in the light of his Christian consciousness. This was equally true of his present and future. The fact of the risen and living Jesus and his personal relation to him dominated everything. It recreated his attitude towards God; it confirmed his belief in Jesus as the fulfiller of the Messianic Hope; it taught him that inward freedom of the spirit, as against legalism, was the very kernel of religion; it made vivid the perversity and peril of sin; it deepened the significance of the death on the cross for world redemption; it revolutionized and developed

his eschatological outlook; it set the Redeemer in the central place as the Lord; it gave distinctiveness to his understanding of the Holy Spirit as the bestower of spiritual freedom; it enriched his mystical experience which brought him into immediate contact and fellowship with the Divine. All this is ably dealt with in succeeding chapters.

Professor Kennedy rightly emphasizes the richness and breadth of Paul's interpretation of the death of Christ. He also argues against the influence of the Mystery Cults on the Apostle's thought. The ideas of reconciliation, justification, and adoption are shown to be fundamental and new light is thrown on them. It may come as a check to ardent advocates of ecclesiasticism to be told that there is a singular lack of reference to questions in which they are concerned, and that when the Apostle refers to the church it is as a spiritual entity rather than an ecclesiastical institution.

The experience of Paul was not normal in early Christianity. There were other types which supplemented at many points his notable contribution. If this were more clearly recognized we might do better justice to the versatility and manysidedness of the Christian Gospel, which has never been content with one type of thought and life, but has always provided for the manifold needs of humanity with due regard to its respective traditions and temperaments. Professor Kennedy has rendered a good service in making this clear, for with all the diversity in the New Testament Church there was an underlying unity in grateful loyalty to the One and Only Christ.

Part II deals with those phases that were largely independent of Paulinism. The chapter on the first Epistle of Peter brings out the distinctive character of this letter as reflecting the consciousness of primitive Christianity. The timeliness of the Epistle to the Hebrews is considered in another chapter. This letter was addressed to Jewish Christians whose grasp of the Christian hope was slackening and among whom early enthusiasm was giving place to spiritual lethargy. The background of this letter was that of Alexandrian Judaism and its fundamental conceptions of the new covenant, the priesthood of Christ and faith were not after the fashion of Pauline thought. Part III separates the Pastoral Epistles from the writings of Paul and places them with James, Jude, and Second Peter, "as monuments of the theology of the developing church." Their tone and temper bespeak a correct, commonplace piety, with an interest in tradition and organization. These characteristic products of the post-Pauline thought breathe a changed atmosphere, and while the Pastoral Epistles belong to the school of Paul, they come from a later date. Even though some may hesitate to follow Professor Kennedy to his conclusions, his reasoning is lucid and his arguments are forcible.

This is a book for students who will find it to be a judicious and reliable treatment of some of the urgent issues which were faced and met by the church in the early days of its aggressive enterprise. It also suggests to the modern church, at home and on the mission field, how the problems of our own day are to be solved.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Preaching and Paganism. By Albert Parker Fitch. 12mo, pp. 229. New Haven: Yale University Press. Price, $2.

Can the Church Survive in the Changing Order? By Albert Parker Fitch. 12mo, pp. 79. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.

These two volumes are written in a controversial spirit and the excessive radicalism is lacking in charitable judgment. No clear distinction is made between the conservatisms and the corruptions of religion, and like most progressives, Fitch is obsessed by the fallacious idea that truth is found in newness rather than in reality. This is unfortunate because there are many good things in both volumes, but we are reminded of the man who carries the milk from the dairy and then spills it just on the point of delivery. His criticisms are too captious and exaggerated. He does not have the irenic spirit and there is nothing more needed in these trying days than leaders who mediate between the old and the new. We cannot lightly discard our traditional inheritance when the sacred voices of the past bear such a compelling testimony, nor need we be so wedded to the past as to be incapable of initiating, in the freedom of the Spirit, such expressions as shall meet our needs in a positive way.

Let us recognize that one of our dangers, as others have reminded us and as Fitch does, is to seek refuge from the difficulties of thought in the opportunities of action. We must find out what are the regulative ideas of our age. There is much to be learned from men of the scientific or intellectual type as well as from those who are practical and from mystical souls with the temperament of the seer. The preacher would guard against provincialism if he reckons with all three. Jesus was a humanist, but humanism, as we understand it, is a form of naturalism and those who accept it live in a self-centered world, showing an exclusive spirit and of necessity have an incomplete outlook. Humanism is far too individualistic and materialistic, and like English Deism of the eighteenth century it is incapable of understanding or appreciating the immeasurable worth of human life, for man is the child of the eternal. This type of thought has affected much Christian preaching, as Fitch sharply points out. Its view of Jesus has been impoverished by the emphasis on his identity with us rather than his difference from us. This point should have been more fully developed, but here, as in so many other places, our author starts a line of thought which goes only half way. What is essentially distinctive in the personality of Jesus? What gives him the unique place of leadership? Surely not merely his character but his Saviourhood through his great work of Atonement. But this is not stated. Another vitiating feature of the humanistic influence is that much of our preaching aims at education and not salvation; there is a tendency to relinquish the goal of conversion. The author of Ecce Homo wrote several years ago that "Christianity would sacrifice its divinity if it abandoned its missionary character and became a mere educational institution. Surely this article of conversion is the true *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae.* When

the power of reclaiming the lost dies out of the church, it ceases to be the church." But what is conversion is not definitely answered by this latest Yale lecturer on Preaching, and to judge from the tone of his book he is not in sympathy with the evangelical conception.

The analysis of the weakness and error of humanism is splendidly well done and for this reason alone Fitch deserves our gratitude. But he does not offer an adequate substitute. As a critic of current tendencies he is exceptionally good and his illustrations from fiction, the drama, art, poetry, and screenland are a timely exposure of "the revolt against the decencies and conventions of our humanist civilization." One of his sentences vividly sets forth the situation. "Our world is full of dilettanti in the colleges, anarchists in the state, atheists in the church, bohemians in art, sybarites in conduct and ineffably silly women in society, who have felt, and occasionally studied the scientific and naturalistic movement just far enough and superficially enough to grasp the idea of relativity and to exalt it as sufficient and complete in itself." For chapter and verse in support of this indictment of English society, we would refer to the Autobiography of Margot Asquith, and her conclusions are equally applicable to American social life. Fitch scores the church in both these volumes, but to use his own words "all blanket indictments are ungracious and ungenerous and they cannot be wholly fair." There is far too much of the Cassandra note in much of what he writes. To be sure, the church is engaged in campaigns to raise money and in membership drives, but certainly the church is also concerned in other things. In spite of his diatribes against humanism, the gospel he implicitly advocates is humanistic, if indeed humanism has any gospel.

Toward the end of the volume of Yale lectures he defends himself against the charge of inconsistency but the defense comes too late and the previous chapters do not sustain it. For instance, in one place he insists on the need of doctrinal preaching and in the next breath he disparages the educational functions of the pulpit, and deplores that most Protestant services are more informative than inspirational. On one page he declares that the essence of worship is the appeal to the religious will through feeling and the imagination; on a later page he states that no one would deny that the revival of intellectual authority and leadership in matters of religion is terribly needed to-day. If it is unwise to use the phraseology of the past in expressing our religious convictions, how can it be wise to use them to express our religious devotion? "If we are to have a religious revival then it seems to me worshipful services must be accompanied by speculative preaching." And yet he condemns the rational appeal in favor of the emotional! He would practically have every preacher turn theological professor, more interested in the content than in the application of truth. How does this harmonize with his idea that "a sermon is not a contribution to, but an interpretation of, knowledge, made in terms of the religious experience"? On this subject of speculative preaching, Fitch is surely too good a student of church history to forget that when Bishop Butler was preaching his sermons, "Upon Human Na-

ture or Man Considered as a Moral Agent," the religious life of England was in a deplorable condition. There was no hope until John Wesley, scholar and evangelist, came with his Gospel of grace and mercy, which had to do not only with the heart of man but also with the social and economic problems of that age, just as Wesley's successors at Des Moines recognized, of which Fitch vigorously disapproves. The fact is, this writer shows more impulse than insight and hits at random because he has not correlated all the issues. He has failed to present a definite message in terms of the new order, which must nevertheless be in harmony with the full Christianity of the Eternal Christ. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Ambassadors of God. By S. PARKES CADMAN. Pp. 352. New York: The Macmillan Company.

DR. CADMAN is the Theodore Roosevelt of the American pulpit. He has the same triumphant vitality. He has the same masterful virility. And in just the same fashion he is preeminently a man of men. It is twenty years since he became the minister of the Central Congregational Church in Brooklyn. He went to that pulpit one of the most outstanding of Methodist preachers. To-day he is one of the most notable of American preachers. And he is a preacher whose words are heard with intense and eager interest on the other side of the sea.

Dr. Cadman might have been a brilliant technical scholar. As it is he is a minister of deeply real erudition and of many scholarly attainments. One wonders how he has found it possible to keep in understanding relations with such a variety of intellectual interests in the midst of so demanding a pastorate. And as one follows the range and movement of his diversified mental life one is glad that this large and generous sort of interpretation is the fruit of his mind. It is really a rarer and more important gift to our time than the gift of a provincial and microscopic scholarship. We do not have enough men in America who make some attempt to see life steadily and to see it whole.

In an age which knows how to write sentences but has forgotten how to write paragraphs Dr. Cadman represents the tradition of a rich and ample speech, building the structure of a noble paragraph with a gracious and happy art. He moves with a stately serenity, warming at times to noble passion, and sweeping on to climaxes of superb eloquence. It is refreshing to turn from the sputtering epigrams of contemporary writing to this style of masterful dignity with its echoes of the more sonorous speech of the days of Burke. It is all perfectly aware and full of sympathy for every vital thing in our immediate life. One is swept through the ages with bewildering rapidity. But one's destination is the very place and the very time which one knows the best. It is the age in the light of the ages, and the time in the light of the centuries which are gone. So one views on preaching on a canvas large and marvelously impressive. Science and philosophy, history and poetry all pour their wealth into this palace of the preacher's art. It is no isolated or provincial activity of which

Dr. Cadman writes. The interpreter of the Christian realities is seen as the master of history, the man who sees time against the background of eternity.

The book is full to the brim of effective practical suggestions. The preacher of many years' experience is all the while sharing his far-gathered wisdom with the younger men who are to follow. Problems of biblical criticism jostle economic riddles, and fundamental matters of philosophy are claiming attention in the midst of the insistence of matters of ecclesiastical polity. It is all as rich and diverse as life. It is all as fascinating as the life of a real preacher of manifold interest and of responsive mind and heart. With such versatility these lectures are still warmingly evangelical, ripe with the zest of a profound and noble piety. The making of sermons, the making of preachers, the making of Christians, and the making of a Christian world—all these things come within the ken of this masterful prophet. It is a good book for a preacher, this volume by Dr. Cadman. It is a good book for any man who would feel anew the mighty and achieving dignity of the Christian religion at work in the world.

Detroit, Mich. LYNN HAROLD HOUGH.

Church Finance and Social Ethics. By FRANCIS JOHN MCCONNELL, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Pp. 130. New York: The Macmillan Company.

No message could be more timely and important than this study of economic ethics as applied to church finance. Now that gold galore is pouring into the treasuries of the church, making her the owner of vast estates, an opulent investor, a generous spender, a large employer, and still the persistent solicitor for greater resources, she faces the perils arising from the power of the purse and the dangerous dominion of dollars.

Has the church a right to own? Is private property justifiable on the basis of fundamental morality? Certainly, *meum* and *tuum* have been the twin pronouns of civilization and man has been making himself in the process of making money. Yet the sacredness of private possession can only be proclaimed by social service. The Christian church, above all, must make her mastery of material means not an end-in-itself, but a contribution to the moral and spiritual enrichment of society.

The church, as the body of Christ, is an extension of the incarnation. Her activities in the money-getting, money-owning, and money-spending world must be made a demonstration that all those material tasks can be filled with a spiritual content which will give the world a visible Lord. Here is a fragment of Bishop McConnell's beautiful conception of the corporate Christian conscience:

"May we say that if the mass of mankind are to be reached with a gospel that transforms even a material and industrial environment they will have to be reached as a church embodies Christian truth in material

and industrial terms? Some men never see anything of religion except as they behold a churchman. Some never hear anything suggestive of Christianity except as substantial church bells peal forth an arresting melody. The ordinary mind must physically see something. Even the consciousness of Jesus seems to have been first awakened to the significance of the Father's house by the spectacle of rising altar fires and by the rhythm of the chanting of the priests. All of us would agree to this. We shall all sooner or later have to agree further that some men will never see Christianity in its social bearing until the church strides forth into the market-place to buy and sell honestly, until the church employs laborers and treats them according to the Christ standards, and until the church uses its funds to lift on high the doctrine of the stewardship of wealth."

Bishop McConnell is no preacher of social revolution; he does not recognize "the tyranny of dogmatic absolutes." But the element of relativity in the social order demands that we always face the future, keeping morals up to date by a constant revision of the practices and principles of the past. The reactionaries who protest that the business of the church is to save souls, rather than to transform society need to ask if they themselves are fully saved, when they have only attained an individualistic and self-regarding morality. Entire sanctification certainly involves the total transformation of life.

When the church gives perfect publicity to all her business methods, has only a "white list" of investments in her vast endowment schemes, and carries out the principles of democracy in all her industrial relationships, she will be indeed a "Holy Catholic Church"—holy in moral idealism and catholic in social consciousness.

The author must not be held responsible for all the forms of statement in this notice, but on the questions here raised, this little book appeals to us as suggesting a supreme solution. It is more than that, a moral tonic for all workers, owners, spenders, investors, and employers.

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction. Edited by the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. 8vo, pp. viii+296. New York: Association Press. Price, $2.

A More Christian Industrial Order. By HENRY SLOANE COFFIN. 12mo, pp. 86. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $1.

The New Social Order. Principles and Programs. By HARRY F. WARD. 8vo, pp. ix+384. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.50.

THE Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook are doing a most needed work. Their first report on Religion among American Men was discussed in the Reading Course in the METHODIST REVIEW for March, 1920, together with the important findings of the British Committee in the report on The Army and Religion. The second report on The Missionary Outlook in the Light of the War received notice in the Reading Course for May, 1920. The third report now to be considered is marked by the same

spirit of hopefulness. It is an inquiry, not an inquisition, and the conclusions and suggestions are healthily free from the temper of exaggeration, which is the bane of most social reformers.

Those who argue that the church is an effete institution, and others who insist that the church must take part in all sorts of social propaganda, as a sort of maid of all work, will find a necessary corrective in this report. Both types of thinkers need to understand that the church is preeminently the interpreter and inspirer of duty. We need not disguise the fact that the church has failed to discharge this function because much of its energy was absorbed in theological and ecclesiastical questions and the opportunity was not used to enlighten and develop the social conscience. But the church is atoning for this inexcusable neglect, and there are signs everywhere of the coming of a better day. Let us thank God and take courage for the next step, which points to social redemption and the Christianization of the whole of life through an order that reckons not only with the present but also with the world beyond. For we cannot think of the intrinsic worth of the individual without stressing the fact of immortality. It is this that differentiates the Christian approach to industrial and kindred problems from that of much contemporary social thinking.

What the Christian approach is and how the problems should be dealt with are set forth in this Report. It recalls a corresponding report on Christianity and Industrial Problems by a committee of the Anglican Church. That document reviewed the economic factors of life in the light of the Christian Gospel, and its interpretation of the principles of Christ was distinguished by the scholarly ability and insight characteristic of our British brethren. It is of permanent value, but the situation had to do with Great Britain, which differs in many respects from what prevails in the United States. It must therefore be supplemented by the American volume. Nothing is overlooked in these pages. Difficulties are honestly faced and suggestions offered without the controversial features and dictatorial judgments which unfortunately weakened the Interchurch report on the Steel Strike.

The first chapter on "The Christian Ideal for Society" deals with much that is familiar, but such an introduction was necessary in order to place by way of contrast the "Unchristian Aspects of the Present Industrial Order," which is the title of the second chapter. A great deal is made of the demoralizing tendency to violate the sacredness of personality and to stunt its development by the lack of continuous opportunity to work, inadequate income, insufficient leisure. A timely word is spoken on child labor and the failure to protect woman workers. All this is clearly inconsistent with the truths of brotherhood and of service, and it weakens the program of democracy which endeavors to realize the fundamental rights of every personality by a fellowship of spirit. A system which permits such an intolerably inequitable situation is structurally wrong, and it must therefore be radically changed both as to its spirit and purpose. The Christian attitude emphasizes the truth of stewardship and it distinguishes between "property for use" and "property for power." It

furthermore sees in the wage system a limiting of freedom of the workers, a refusal to give them a just share in their products, and a hindering of the development of their individuality and self-expression. It also regards the principle of unregulated competition in business as perpetuating a disastrous gulf between classes. As Dr. Coffin so well states in his volume: "A Christian's main quarrel with the existing economic order is not that some possess large wealth, but that so many possess practically nothing." This anomaly exists because of "the assumption that every man, employer and employee, can be moved only by his self-interest."

The constructive presentation of the problem is given in the chapter on "The Christian Method of Social Betterment." It might sound somewhat commonplace to be told that our supremest need is the cultivation of the motive of love. If it does it is because our judgment has been warped by traditional sentimentalism, for many Christians have long professed a religion which they have not practiced. It is nevertheless true that until there is the infusion of the new creative spirit of Christ so that it takes controlling possession of us and unifies our purpose, we shall be found wanting in the sacrificial impulse, which is the very genius of Christianity. On this subject Professor Ward is pointedly explicit in his volume which is at once incisive, stimulating, and hopeful. His chapter on "The Trend of Progress" deserves study in this connection. Here is the conclusion in a sentence: "Whether the new order desired by multitudes will now appear, depends finally upon whether those multitudes have sufficient capacity for sacrifice to send new life coursing through the exhausted veins of humanity." He recognizes that the source of this new life is in Jesus Christ, and in a chapter on "The Churches" he brings together some of the recent pronouncements of organized Christianity concerning its social task. The Report makes application of the principles discussed in the chapter on "Present Practicable Steps toward a More Christian Industrial Order." Here as elsewhere it guards against the danger of becoming merely academic and theoretical and of expressing pious platitudes which really evade the vital issues. It is replete with instances where the better course is being followed, which are an earnest of the yet greater improvement that is bound to come as the result of education, agitation, exhortation, and above all, of consecration to the ideal in Jesus Christ our Lord.

The leadership in bringing about better conditions is manifestly with Christians and the church. "For the Christian to adopt higher social standards before others are willing to do so may involve financial loss and sacrifice, but to be ready to make sacrifice for the good of mankind is an essential part of the Christian way of life." Such an obligation rests upon Christians as employers, investors, employees, consumers, and citizens. What is here written on the subject can well be supplemented by Dr. Coffin's excellent volume, which shows the insight and independence, the comprehension and fairness for which this author has an enviable reputation. There are few books recently published that deal with these problems with such directness and suggestiveness and withal breathes a genuine Christian spirit. The Report has a strong concluding

chapter on "What the Church Can Do to Christianize the Industrial Order." The subjects that receive special consideration are social evangelism, religious education, promoting an understanding of the social conditions to which Christian principles are to be applied, and illustrating the Christian ideal in the church's corporate life. All three books should be carefully studied by preachers and laity. If consecrated courage is shown in carrying out the program, the day of social health and happiness will dawn in the not distant future. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Religion and Culture. A Critical Survey of Methods of Approach to Religious Phenomena. By FREDERICK SCHLEITER, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. x+206. New York: Columbia University Press, 1919. Price, cloth, $2.00 net.

THE science of religion has advanced to the stage when the question of method demands careful examination. The investigator is engrossed in the endless details of the religious phenomena of the world. He is seeking to classify and to reach general conclusions as to the nature of religion and the meaning of a practice or a tendency in the religious history of man. He may be so intent on his immediate task that it is difficult for him to subject the presupposition with which he is working to the criticism which would assure him that his canons of classification and generalization are (or are not) suitable instruments for the task. Or if the decision is not so confident or drastic he may need to modify and hold in check certain generalizing tendencies in order that more confidence may be placed in his conclusions when they have been formulated. The present volume is an attempt to isolate a number of these presuppositions and subject them to searching analysis and questioning. It is, of course, a highly specialized discussion, but, even so, the query arises whether in vocabulary and style such a statement might not be made more simple and less technical. A wide audience cannot be expected for a consideration of this kind, but with the rapidly growing interest in religion the circle of readers might be appreciably increased by bringing the whole discussion out into the open where men and women who are not specialists and yet are deeply interested in the problems of religion live and think and exchange their ideas. The danger is pointed out of attempting to arrive at universal laws of religious development by "the intensive study of a limited geographical area or historical period." Too many conclusions, for instance, have been drawn concerning religion the world over from the minute study of the aborigines of Australia. The use, on the other hand, of the comparative method, by the accumulation of facts wherever similarity is to be detected, is severely criticised. The special environment of each fact thus collected is so important that unless its full weight is ascertained the fact itself is unmanageable and is to be used with the greatest caution. A similarity in form may at the same time cover great differences in inner significance. In dealing with the related subjects of magic and religion the question is asked whether the final vital fact is a definite spirit or the more impersonal *mana*, the attempt being to show that as these theories are held today there is too much

rigidity and that there may be other explanations which should be called in to supplement the contention made by the current theories. The last chapters discuss the concept of causality in its application to religious phenomena. What do we mean by causality? is the question asked. The discussion brings out the fact that it may mean a half dozen things quite different one from another. When it does actually mean so many things the suggestion is made that magic, mana, etc., may be the "garbs" assumed by the psychological process which is the reality after all back of our ideas of causality. One is led to wonder whether the author is not a believer in any form of efficient causality, which leads him to make a difficult subject even more hazy by his uncertain method of treatment. The conclusion of the whole discussion in the mind of the reviewer is that caution is much needed in the use of terms and conceptions whose connotations are all too likely to be taken for granted, but that the discussion might have been conducted with more positive helpfulness than is evident in the present volume. Analysis is keen and criticism is abundant, but where are we to stand when all has been said? EDMUND D. SOPER.

Northwestern University.

The Letters of William James. Edited by his Son, Henry James. Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. xx, 382. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. Price $10.

IN one of the universities of the Middle West a course is given dealing with the great movements and dominant personalities in the development of American thought. The material for this study is arranged in such a way that it inevitably clusters about the three outstanding figures in the intellectual history of America: Jonathan Edwards, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and William James. No one would question the inclusion of the name of James in this great triumvirate, but different individuals would give varied reasons for his preeminence among American thinkers. His dominant interests were in the field of philosophy and religion. In his philosophical creed of pragmatism he gave expression to a simple, tangible explanation of reality, most decidedly of the earth, earthy. Whether or not the pragmatist can be numbered among the metaphysicians, he has brought philosophy from the clouds and has given expression to the thought life of his generation. Professor James in his "Varieties of Religious Experience" has produced a volume which no student of religious psychology can ignore. It is, however, true that in this work he dwells too much on religious abnormalities. Some one in Cambridge has suggested that the book should have been given the subtitle "Wild Religions I Have Known." But as a psychologist James changed the current of American education. He made vital a subject which had in general petrified into a conglomerate of pedantry. His chapter on "Habit" cannot be disregarded by any man or woman intellectually alive and interested in "the real business of living."

But in these volumes of letters, edited by his son, we come not so much into contact with systems of philosophy or psychological theories as we do with a dynamic, militant, sympathetic personality. No phase of

life or humanity was alien to him. He was a part of all that he met. He brought fresh currents of thought upon everything that he touched. The early pages of the book give some delightful glimpses of the pungent personality of Professor James's father, the first Henry James. A prig was the pet antipathy of this vigorous, paradoxical character. He once ejaculated, "I would rather have a son of mine corroded with all of the sins of the Decalogue than have him perfect." Henry James, Sr., was a Swedenborgian of a highly individualistic type. The source of his son's prose style may be seen by reading a few extracts from a letter written by the father to a radical denominational editor: "I find the general drift of the paper so very poverty-stricken in spiritual regard as to make it the least nutritive paper I know. I know nothing so sad and spectral in the shape of literature. It seems composed by skeletons and intended for readers who are content to disown their own flesh and blood and be moved by some ghastly mechanism. It cannot but prove very unwholesome to you to be connected with all that sadness and silence, where nothing more musical is heard than the occasional jostling of bone by bone. Do come out of it before you wither as an autumn leaf, which no longer rustles in full-veined life on the pliant bough, but rattles instead with emptiness upon the frozen, melancholy earth." As one reads this he is reminded of the description which an old Scotchman gave of the ancestors of Thomas Carlyle, "Pithy, bitter-speakin' bodies and awfu' fighters." The editor of the letters describes the mother of Professor James in these words: "A gentle lady who accommodated her life to all her husband's vagaries and presided with cheerful indulgence over the development of her five children's divergent and uncompromising personalities." Both her sons reverenced her and Henry James, Jr., regarded her memory as so sacred that he could not bring himself to the place where he felt that he could give an adequate account of her in "Notes of a Son and Brother."

In these letters we have something seldom found; an epistolary collection which is a fitting biography. The course of the life of William James can be easily followed by means of these letters. Good letter writers do not grow upon every bush. Dr. Holmes was one; Lowell and Stevenson add two more to the list. The letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle are sprightly, vivacious, informing—in general hard to excel; the redoubtable Thomas himself by no means lacked proficiency in this art. Mark Twain's letters show the real man, although they are sometimes disfigured by a blood-curdling profanity. The two volumes of the letters of Charles Eliot Norton are a real contribution to American literature. But among the letter-writers, James is not surpassed by the best. Unlike Stevenson, and possibly Lowell, he has not written his letters with the thought of their publication in mind. Labored brilliancy is not one of their characteristics. There is no intimation whatever of a pose. They are the spontaneous expression of an intense, vivid, and attractive human being. Professor James could have quoted with truth the words of Dr. Holmes, "I am alive from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet."

In him there was none of that lugubrity which is sometimes mistaken

for profundity. His personality was pervaded by a rich humor, which was likely to bubble forth even when he was dealing with the most abstruse subjects. There is a classical story of a solemn-minded student who stemmed the full tide of a classroom lecture by exclaiming, "But, Doctor, Doctor!—to be serious for a moment—" In the later letters there is much comment upon national and world politics, psychology, and religion. The earlier writings are for the most part of descriptions of people and experiences. It is hard to say which type is the more interesting. When he was twenty-three years of age he accompanied Professor Agassiz on the Thayer expedition to South America and the letters which he wrote to the members of the family during this period have all the sparkle and vivacity of brilliant youth. This experience is suggestive of Darwin's Beagle voyage and that of Huxley on The Rattlesnake. James, however, was not sorry when the trip was over. In a letter written while on his way home he expresses these sentiments: "I have often longed for a good, black, sour, slushy winter's day in Washington Street. Oh, the bliss of standing on such a day half way between Roxbury and Boston and having all the cars pass you full. It will be splendid to get home in mid-winter and revel in the cold." Almost forty years later he promised Mrs. Agassiz to write a book worthy of "you, my dear Mrs. Agassiz and the Thayer expedition."

In these superlative volumes there is possibly nothing better than the comments of Professor James upon men and books. "Glorious old Don Quixote" is his characterization of Ruskin. And again in writing of him to Charles Eliot Norton he says, "As the clouds clear away he will surely take his stable place as one of the noblest of the sons of men. Regard all that as unessential, and his inconsistencies and extravagances fall out of sight and leave the Great Heart alone visible." He eulogizes Emerson in these words: "There are only a few things that can be said of him. He was so squarely and simply himself as to impress everyone in the same manner. Reading the whole of him over again continuously has made me feel his greatness as I never did before. He's really a critter to be thankful for." He was strongly opposed to the occupation of the Philippines and his references to President McKinley are rather acidic. He called the McKinley and Roosevelt ticket "a combination of slime and mud, soap and sand, that ought to scour everything away, even the moral sense of the country." He thus comments upon Lowell: "Looking back at him, what strikes one most was his singularly boyish cheerfulness and robustness of temperament. He was a sort of a boy to the end, and makes most others seem like premature old men." He speaks of his colleague Royce, whom he addresses in beginning a letter as "Beloved Josiah," as a "perfect little Socrates for humor and wisdom." In regard to both men and books he was appreciative rather than fault-finding. He was a man of too large caliber to degenerate into a seed-pecking critic. He welcomes Bergson's "Creative Evolution" with unrestrained enthusiasm, "O my Bergson, you are a magician and your book is a marvel, a real wonder in the history of philosophy." Mrs. Howells called his letters of appreciation "whoops of blessings." He greeted Booker Washington's "Up from Slavery" with one

of these whoops: "My mouth has been watering for just that volume. Autobiographies take the cake. I mean to read nothing else."

It is not unamusing to note his solicitude over the heterodoxy of the orthodox. In regard to Emerson he makes the following statement: "I have myself been a little scandalized at the non-resisting manner in which Orthodox sheets have celebrated his anniversary. An 'Emerson number' of 'Zion's Herald' strikes me as *tant soit peu* of an anomaly, and yet I am told that such a number appeared." One wishes here to have had the opportunity to have reminded the genial professor that several generations ago one of Emerson's most ardent admirers was that eloquent Methodist "Father" Edward Taylor, who said of the Concord seer, "He knows no more of the religion of the New Testament than Balaam's ass did of the principles of Hebrew grammar," but added Emerson was more like Christ than any other man he had known. Methodism believes in valuing the good in a man and his work, whether or not we can follow him in every path he treads.

Of course, James was highly tolerant in his attitude toward all seekers for light and truth. Considering his dominating interest in religion, it is very interesting to note that very little material in the volumes was written to preachers. Many of Mark Twain's best letters were written to his closest personal friend, Rev. Joseph Twichel. Once he mentions entertaining one of America's most eminent pulpiteers. "We are having ice cream and the Rev. George A. Gordon to lunch to-day. The ice cream is left over from the Philosophical Club last night." In another, written to his daughter, he speaks of his church-going: "Just before tea! and your Grandam Mar and I are going to hear the Rev. Percy Grant in the College chapel just after. We are getting to be great church-goers. 'Twill have to be Crothers next. He, sweet man, is staying with the Brookses. After him the Christian Science Church and after that the deluge." It is hard to pass over the last sentence without comment. Much has been made of James's attitude toward psychical phenomena. It is set forth with brevity and clearness in a letter to Rev. C. L. Slattery: "My state of mind is this: Mrs. Piper has supernormal knowledge in her trances; but whether it comes from tapping the minds of living people or from some common cosmic reservoir of memories, or from surviving 'spirits' of the departed, is a question impossible for me to answer just now to my satisfaction. The spirit theory is not only the most natural but the simplest, and I have great respect for Hodgson's and Hyslop's arguments when they adopt it." But he adds these words of high significance: "At the same time the electric current called belief has not yet closed in my mind."

The editor of the letters has done his work well. The material is frank without being undignified. If anyone would read the work in order to add to his detailed philosophical knowledge he would, of course, be doomed to disappointment. These are not volumes of metaphysics but they contain that which is better. They reveal a rich, red-blooded, and zestful personality who all of his days was a seeker for truth. In 1863, while he was debating between philosophy and medicine, he wrote to his mother: "I

now stand at the place where the road forks. One branch leads to material comfort, the flesh-pots, but it seems a kind of selling one's soul. The other to mental dignity and independence combined, however, with physical penury." He lived not for the flesh-pots but for the things of the spirit. He practiced the Johnsonian motto, "Clear your mind of Cant." He walked along the paths of earth with active step, inquiring eye, and tongue varied in discourse. He lived a life that was full, rich, and free. It can be said of him as Lowell said of his one-time mentor, Agassiz,

> His magic was not far to seek—
> He was so human!

Not more than two or three times in a decade do we come into contact with such a suggestive and stimulating piece of biographical work.

West Virginia Wesleyan College. LEWIS H. CHRISMAN.

The Life and Letters of Hamilton W. Mabie. By EDWIN W. MORSE. 8vo, pp. 344. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

FROM the energetic career of Bok, whose autobiography was read with breathless interest and increasing admiration, we turn to this life of an editor and author who represented a different type of American life. The meditative calm, mystical poise, and literary charm of Mabie were beyond Bok, who was a director and discoverer of literary workers, although he himself produced a great deal which, however, could hardly be classed as literature. His writing was journalistic and much of it was ephemeral, and whatever of permanence it possessed was in the results achieved. To say that his writing was of the practical sort would be an injustice to those cultured writers who interpret literature in its relation to life. And there is always need for this latter ministry, especially when it is remembered that a recent investigation revealed the alarming fact that the average family in the United States buys six hundred newspapers a year—and two books.

There is no heresy so noxious as that which holds that books are a luxury, not a necessity. The pabulum furnished by the daily press is woefully inadequate to nourish the mind and feed the inner springs. People should be encouraged to read books and be rightly guided in their choice of books. The guidance volunteered by publishers is usually treated with suspicion for obvious reasons. But even publishers can improve in their methods of advertising, and conduct an educational campaign, to cultivate the public taste for good books.

No man did more to develop the better standards of American literature than Mabie. He was a critical and creative artist, and we place him in a class with Goethe, Sainte-Beuve, Coleridge, Arnold, Emerson and Lowell. He held with Matthew Arnold that the purpose of criticism is "a disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world." He was therefore more interested in pointing out the excellent qualities in books than in exposing their defects. The positive view of things is always better than the negative. Such a de-

cision was in keeping with his generous nature to give cheer and encouragement. He was, as Henry van Dyke so well put it, "an author without a grudge, a teacher without a rod, an idealist without a fad; a good man to tie to and a good friend to have."

Those who have read Mabie's books—and they make a large library—and who were helped week by week by his articles in The Outlook, will be glad to read this discerning biography. It also contains some of the letters he wrote to a multitude of friends and acquaintances. It is a testimony to his high standing that his advice was sought by numerous young men and young women throughout the country, and it speaks for his generous and optimistic nature that no one looked to him in vain. Many were encouraged by him to start out upon literary and other careers, and what they accomplished was due to his impetus. May his mantle fall on other individuals of influence, so that this sort of unselfish service might be rendered to the present generation of aspirants.

Mabie holds a high place as an author, and he was frequently sought as a lecturer, but his forte was that of an editor. His weekly output was phenomenal considering the high grade that was consistently maintained. Indeed, several of his books were made up of reprints of these weekly articles, which were on a variety of subjects—educational, economic, social, literary, theological, religious. The religious note was dominant in everything he wrote. His spirit was reflected in an article on "The Test of Courage," written as he was recovering from a serious illness. "The testing of courage is not the moment when the charge is made with ringing bugles and the impetus and inspiration of a great strain onward; it is when the inspiration of action has been lost; when all the conditions are full of disillusion, and few see clearly on account of the depression and monotony; and only they are heroically strengthened who are steadfast in the faith in which they began the fight—loyal to the very end."

His colleague, Dr. Lyman Abbott, said of him: "He looked forward to a divinely predestined human brotherhood, and tested every policy, whether political, industrial or ecclesiastical, by the relations which that policy bore to the coming kingdom." With such an ideal always before him, Mabie performed the functions of an interpreter of literature and life with rare ability, showing a catholicity of sympathy with the diversified interests of the human race in the struggle towards higher and better things.

His splendid services received appreciative recognition when he was selected to be the ambassador of peace to Japan, to deliver a course of lectures at important centers in the Sunrise Kingdom. He was welcomed everywhere and his observations led him to realize that his own countrymen needed enlightenment about the Japanese far more than Japan was in need of information about America. The closing paragraph of his report to the Carnegie Endowment, under whose auspices he carried out this mission, is worth quoting: "Japan has gone far and will go further. It asks nothing of any other nation which it is not willing to give. It has a high and worthy conception of its place and future in the development

of the Far East. It is in a position to render a great service to the peace of the world; its friendship is of immense value to Americans, and if they are true to their traditions and understand their responsibilities to the country which they forced to come into relations with the world, they will preserve towards it a policy which shall be not only just but sympathetic and helpful."

Such a life, marked by openness of mind, flexibility of intelligence, and cheerfulness of spirit, helps us to believe in the sanity and sanctity of Christianity. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

POETRY

The Faith of the People's Poet. A Study of James Whitcomb Riley, by DANIEL L. MARSH. Pp. 254. Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill & Co.

PASSING the question whether James Whitcomb Riley is justly given the title of "The People's Poet," it may be asked why, taking the other for granted, should there be a study such as this to determine and set forth his "faith." There has been ever a search to dig out the "faith" of anyone assuming to speak to the people in poetic measures. Somewhere Emerson says, in effect, that "poetry is the unfallen language." Unless "faith" is in the very texture of his work no one may lay claim to or be accorded the title of poet, certainly not a poet of the people. In the deepest depths man is a religious animal—in the phrase of Carlyle—and unless the poet sings the Faith he may not prophesy for the people nor be an accepted interpreter of the human spirit. We are all poets in instinct. At our best we yearn to utter ourselves in the unfallen language, and when one comes along who can and does do for us what we fail in ability to do for ourselves he is instinctively recognized and is accorded the popular title given to Mr. Riley by Dr. Marsh. On the pediment of the statue at Dumfries, Burns is called "The Poet of Mankind." James Whitcomb Riley is affectionately styled "The Burns of America." There are more profound spiritual voices than Burns or Riley; but in the lyrics of both the great middle class of peasant and people have recognized the expression of their own inarticulate but none the less certain "faith."

It is a loving service Dr. Marsh has rendered in producing this exhaustive study of Mr. Riley's eleven hundred published poems, bringing out of them the clear, unquestioned affirmation of the "faith" fundamental in human nature, not so much to establish Riley himself as a religious man or poet, as to make assurance doubly sure to the common mind that "faith" is at the heart of humanity.

There are, however, in this volume most interesting data of a personal faith and experience in the poet himself. No one can give what he has not. Riley sings true; his faith is not an assumption. He came from devoutly religious ancestors. His paternal grandmother was an unlicensed preacher. She had two Methodist preacher brothers. The maternal grandfather was a preacher bearing the name honored in Methodist

annals of Marine. This reviewer recalls one of the family, Abijah Marine, as one of his best-loved pastors in Indiana. Riley's immediate home was under Christian influence: his mother a woman of rare character and excellence and the father an honored gentleman of the old school. The poet's nephew, and editor of the authorized edition of his works, wrote Dr. Marsh that in answer to a direct question Mr. Riley said, "I am a member of the Methodist Church."

Riley had a vivid conception of sin and the experience of salvation. After perpetrating the "Leonainie" hoax, he felt not only the possibilities that might come from that fault, but he bitterly bemoaned the implications involved of his own weakness and wrong. He wrote a friend, "I have been sick; sick to the soul. . . . I would have died with all hell hugged in my arms. I can speak of this now because I can tell you I am saved." This is more than remorse over a literary prank or deceit. It is the birth-pang of a repentance and faith that led him to a vision of his dead mother "smiling back upon me from the blue fields of love—when lo! she was young again." Many human souls have found solace and peace in a revelation of God to them "as a mother comforteth her children." Of this experience Riley voiced his clear belief in the forgiveness of sin and in immortality through such poems as "The Song I Never Sing," and "We Must Believe."

> "We must believe—
> For still all unappeased our hunger goes
> From life's first waking to its last repose.
> Lord, I believe,
> Help thou my unbelief."

Riley believed in God. "The Rubaiyat of Old Doc Sifers" (a conceived character somewhat autobiographical) is an indirect reply to the epicurean pessimism and cynicism found in the "Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam." Riley says of his poem: "It is a picture of a wholesome, helpful, industrious man, a doctor with a hale faith in God and man, in contrast to the old Persian's utterly hopeless doctrine."

Many of Riley's poems show his unquestioning belief in God, of his immanence in human life, and of his overflowing love. The second one of the Benjamin F. Johnson dialect poems—a dozen of which formed the first modest little volume of Riley's published work—ends:

> "Fer the world is full of roses, and the roses full of dew,
> And the dew is full of heavenly love that drips fer me and you."

In one of his early poems, written in 1899, "The Shower," Riley pictures himself

> "Transposed by some wondrous art,
> Bowed with the thirsty lilies to the sod,
> My empty soul brimmed over, and my heart
> Drenched with the love of God."

Riley believed in the Bible, and in Jesus Christ and his gospel. In 1881, living yet *in camera* so far as the outside world was concerned, he wrote of his preacher-grandfather's Bible:

"Shall the voice of the Master be stilled and riven?
Shall we hear but a tithe of the words he has said?
When so long he has, listening, leaned out of Heaven
To hear the old Bible my grandfather read."

Few Advent hymns excel the one of Riley "By the splendor in the heavens and the hush upon the sea." The baby in the manger is the King, to whom "we humbly bow the knee."

"Thy messenger has spoken, and our doubts have fled and gone.
As the dark and spectral shadows of the night before the dawn,
And in the kindly shelter of the light around us drawn
We would nestle down forever on the breast we lean upon."

How Riley did believe in Man, and his possibilities! How he did love Nature, with her myriad expressions of the God he saw everywhere! How he rested in the unfailing Providence that rules in the world despite all seeming doubts and disappointments and disarrangements! Browning sings no clearer note of God's watchfulness and care than does Riley. To Riley not in fatalism but in faith, God rules and overrules. In "The Best is Good Enough" he says:

"One only knows our needs, and He
Does all the distributing:
I quarrel not with Destiny;
The Best is good enough for me."

Riley sang, as few others have, the songs of country, of patriotism, and of the Flag—the "Old Glory" under whose folds his father fought as a captain in the Union Army. But to linger longer over Dr. Marsh's volume is forbidden. The book is a storehouse of all that Riley has written upon the deep themes that sum up into Christian Faith. It is good reading—a book of wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort. Riley's myriad readers and lovers will be glad to have their faith strengthened, refreshed, and possibly humanized by this revelation of the Hoosier Poet, as unusual as it is welcome.

E. W. Halford.

Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1920. Pp. 709. The Methodist Book Concern.

The Book of Discipline is an encyclopedia of the principles, practice, and polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is an evolution from the historic Larger Minutes of the Conferences which Mr. Wesley held with his preachers. The first edition, published in 1785, and bound up with the Sunday Service (prepared by Mr. Wesley from the Anglican Prayer-Book for the use of American Methodists) and the Collection of Psalms and Hymns, bore this title:

"Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Thos. Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and others, at a Conference, begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, in the Year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers and other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America."

The title was changed from year to year, the present form appearing

for the first time in the Discipline of 1804. The first copy filled 30 pages; the present edition, including appendices and index, reaches 709 pages. The growth of the Discipline, therefore, has kept step with the expansion of Methodism. If the saying be true that a nation that shortens its sword extends its boundaries, it may also be true that a briefer and simpler code of laws would make for Methodist efficiency. In twenty years the Discipline has grown from 409 pages to 709. Should that rate of enlargement continue, the book will swell to one thousand pages before the middle of the century.

Doubtless the ecumenical church of to-day needs a bigger law-book than did the handful of societies on the Atlantic seaboard in 1784. Yet there is danger that the church may become burdened, as is the State to-day, by an accumulation of cumbersome and little regarded legislation. Ignorance of the law excuses no one, but the law ought to be made as easy of knowing as possible. A chief cause of this plethora of pages is found in the fact that every General Conference adds a fresh fund of legislation, not by a process of digestion, but by an obese accretion of tissue. It may be necessary before long to create a commission to codify the law of the church and give it a more constructive and organic form. Maybe, the unification of Methodism will bring about the same result by a true historic evolution.

Although the Discipline of 1920 is our biggest, it is, in spite of that, our best. This is due not only to the excellent mechanical format, but, most of all, to efficient editorship of Dr. David G. Downey, the Book Editor of the church. So far as a reviewer's hasty inspection can discern, this has been done with admirable accuracy. The highest helpfulness is the comprehensive index, the most complete and scientific our legislative handbook has ever owned. This colossal book achieves convenience and availability, and its mass of material becomes easily accessible, because the index is a perfect guide through this tropical luxuriance of the text.

The most interesting portions of the Methodist Discipline are the oldest, the relics of the Larger Minutes, where we still hear the voice of John Wesley, our Father in God, speaking spiritual counsel and giving sensible advice to his preachers in the strong, nervous Saxon sentences that so clearly inform the mind, pungently penetrate the heart, and strongly fortify the will. The General Rules, the advices about worship and singing, the more ancient parts of the Qualifications and Work of the Ministry—these are religious discipline in the highest and noblest sense of the word.

It is not necessary to note in detail the new elements in our polity introduced by the General Conference of 1920. The closer coordination of our benevolent boards, the steady movement toward a greater local autonomy in world-wide Methodism, the privilege of preaching granted to women, the removal of the time limit from the District Superintendents—all are progressive steps toward a more efficient modern church life.

The Discipline should lie beside the Bible and the Hymnal on the reading table of every Methodist family. Larger intelligence will add the Methodist Review and one of the Advocates.

The Methodist Year Book—1921. Oliver S. Baketel, Editor. Pp. 340. Methodist Book Concern.

This eighty-eighth issue of the Year Book is the biggest, brightest, and best of its history. The attractive New Era cover shows the long trail of the itinerant from the log church of primitive Methodism to better and better buildings, and at last to the world-wide objectives of the holy war, to which the General Conference appointed leaders in 1920.

The figures given as to the gains in folks and dollars are fascinating, the losses being rare and inconsiderable. There is need of becoming humility in numbering Israel, for bigness is not necessarily greatness. Yet Luke is not ashamed to give us the census of the Pentecostal revival, and we must not fail to give glory to God for the membership increase of 182,338, the largest in the history of the church. While ministerial support has not kept pace with living costs, yet the record of increases everywhere is good ground for gratitude. The Pittsburgh Conference leads the procession with the largest average salaries.

Economical Methodism records a great growth in the last decade, now reaching almost ten million communicants, a gain of over one million. The Methodist population of the world approximates thirty-six million, a four-million gain in ten years. Methodism furnishes to-day the largest contribution to the Protestant army of the world, excepting, perhaps, the Lutherans.

Human interest is supplied in the noble record of translated leaders, such as Vincent, Hughes, Buckley, Eckman, Doran, Bovard, Sheridan, and Buttz. And then is given a list of the Patriarchs, over ninety years of age, who still tarry in Beulah land, a list of thirty veterans, beginning with Dr. Seth Reed, of the Detroit Conference, in his ninety-eighth year and ending with the Rev. Samuel C. Miller, of the North Indiana Conference, in his ninety-first year.

Other features not less informing and inspiring are the Area studies, the Book Concern story, the Centenary achievements, the multitudinous details of benevolent, philanthropic, and educational work, together with the record of coordinate agencies.

The Year Book in the hands of every Methodist preacher, every official member, and all the potential leaders of the church would constitute a survey which would help in shaping programs of more intense spiritual effort and more expansive activities in the future.

A READING COURSE

The Doctrine of the Church and Christian Reunion. By the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, D.D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, $4.

We have not yet gone much beyond the academic stage of discussion pertaining to church unity. Much water has flowed since the initial suggestions were made not many years ago and sentiment is more favorable toward it. The appeal of the Lambeth Conference of August, 1920, was a

notable advance beyond the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888. Other declarations and proposals were the first and second interim reports of a joint Anglican and Nonconformist Committee dated February, 1916, and March, 1918, respectively; the plea of the Bishop of London in February, 1919, for reunion between the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodist Church; a conference of Episcopalians and Congregationalists in March, 1919; and a plan adopted by the American Council on organic union of churches of Christ, February, 1920. All this registers the spirit of dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

The waste of the moral and spiritual resources of the world by church disunion is self-evident. How to prevent it is not quite as easy as some enthusiastic leaders aver. They have not fully reckoned with certain influential forces in the church, which are either absolutely indifferent to this issue or are positively opposed to it. This conservative element, represented by clergy and laity, is not given to much publicity and we are apt to underestimate their strength. Those of us in the active pastorate realize the difficulties but the outlook is hopeful. There is, however, considerable work yet to be done in educating church public opinion. This requires patience, perspicuity and perspective, and the outcome will largely depend on the spirit and ability of those entrusted with the task of instructing the people from the pulpit and in the course of pastoral activity.

A number of important books has appeared in recent years. Four of them were noticed in the METHODIST REVIEW for May, 1919, and July, 1920. In many respects, the present volume by Professor Headlam is of the greatest consequence. Lord Acton remarked that history must stand on documents, not on opinions. Dr. Headlam constantly appeals to documentary evidence in a strictly historical and impartial spirit. There are two methods of investigation: one states the theory and then seeks for evidence; the other first examines the evidence and then draws conclusions for better or worse. The latter course may not satisfy the traditionalist who is also a dogmatist, but it furthers the interest of truth and progress, which must always be the supreme concern of preachers. Note Dr. Headlam's remarks on these two methods in the opening lecture. His attitude is well expressed toward the end of the volume. "We must be prepared to discuss our differences without as a preliminary insisting upon the acceptance of our own conclusions. There must be no more of the spirit of self-will. Let us defend our convictions with any learning or ability that we may possess. That is right enough. But to begin a controversy by refusing to be bound by any decision that we dislike, and to threaten disruption if we do not get our own way, is to show a want of faith in the reasonableness of our own cause, and a want of faith in God's guidance of his church."

The first lecture on "The Origins of the Church" takes up the teaching of our Lord. How came it that the phrase "Kingdom of God" so often on the lips of Jesus hardly ever appears in the epistles? There were doubtless political considerations, lest the term might be misunderstood by the

Gentiles who would regard the Gospel as a political revolution. What do you think of the suggestion that our Lord did not directly found the church but did so indirectly by preaching the Kingdom? (Pp. 27, 46.) The words about remitting sins were not addressed exclusively to Peter, but to the disciples as a body. The twelve received a commission but authority was conferred on the whole community. The plan of our Lord did not contemplate any specific method of procedure. He emphasized principles and made no rules for the future guidance of his followers. No dead hand was laid on the church, but rather the inspiration of the living Christ. These vital questions are discussed with learning and insight. The second lecture develops the thought of freedom of initiative, which was the privilege of the apostles, who so clearly understood its significance that they refrained from any reference to perpetuating their methods, which were largely adopted as emergencies arose, with the concurrence of the whole church. The church moreover was an organism, but local communities were an undivided part of the whole society, although they pursued methods which were often at variance from those practiced by the mother church at Jerusalem. The halo of legendary embellishments which surrounded the apostles was introduced at a date later than the Apostolic Age, without any warrant in history. "The ministry of the apostolic days was in form wholly temporary. When we next have any full knowledge of its life we find that the apostles, prophets, and evangelists are a memory of the past, the embryo church Sanhedrin is swept away, the local churches are no longer governed by a body of presbyters, but by bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the bishop is the official minister of the whole church." This change was no doubt made in harmony with the principle of spiritual freedom; but there are no grounds in history or reason for inferring that this later transformation should be regarded as permanent. "Not one of the rival systems of church polity which prevail at the present day can find any direct support in the New Testament" (p. 88). Those who insist on doing so violate all canons of Scripture interpretation. We need to-day the same freedom of the Divine Spirit enjoyed in the first century, and to this end we should set ourselves to discover the creative resources of God in the living Christ.

The historic episcopate is the storm center. The conclusions first definitely reached by Bishop Lightfoot have been confirmed by recent scholarship. The name bishop was a synonym for presbyter. The episcopacy was created by the church to meet the altered needs of the times. The fact that it had no apostolic authority behind it proves nothing. The imposing claims for episcopacy made by Cyprian and Ignatius were characterized by Lightfoot as "blasphemous and profane." The inconsistencies of their contentions are forcibly set forth by Headlam. A serious charge is that the rights of the laity were discarded and the voice of the people heard in the councils of the apostolic church was silenced as hierarchical authority increased in power. Here we see the beginnings of that vicious conception of the church which regarded the ministry as superior to the laity, by reason of office and not of character. Against this damaging

error Marsiglio of Padua uttered his vigorous protest in The Defensor Pacis and heralded the dawn of the Protestant Reformation. The idea of apostolic succession is shown to be a mechanical theory without the sanction of history. The seventh lecture furnishes additional arguments against the unwarrantable assumptions of its advocates. Its true meaning is the sense of historical continuity, "the recognition of the fact that in all ages God's Spirit has taught the church and is leading us into all truth, that we should always be guarded and instructed by the authority and experience of past generations of Christians." But we link ourselves with the past not only by using its teaching but by learning its spirit of boldness and confidence, which taught it always to adapt itself to new situations and deal with new crises (p. 137).

The supreme concern of St. Augustine was to secure the unity of the church. His problem was how to deal with the Donatists, who were schismatics but not heretics. Note the distinction between these two terms. They held to the consensus of Christian doctrine, as do all modern Nonconformists, but they separated from the church because of its corruptions. St. Augustine pleaded for charity in receiving back these sectarians without the necessity of reordination. However crude and even inconsistent was his theory of the church, his attitude merits our serious consideration. "Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei: et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia." The unity of the church can never be secured by persecution or by dogmatic assertion. Its greatness is not in external authority and organization but in its embodiment of the spirit of Christian charity. No single communion should expect to receive the adherence of everyone, since we are all schismatics and every church is shot through and through with contradictions and is hampered by self-imposed limitations.

The divisions of the church were caused by controversies, intolerance, arrogance, political separations of East and West, and differences of temperament. These factors are well considered in the fifth lecture. The rise of the Papacy was occasioned by the demand for unity and the desire to promote the efficiency and purity of the church and the reform and well-being of society. But it dismally failed. What guarantee have we that organic union will now prove to be a success? It may be that federalism is inadequate but this is the only feasible step looking toward the goal of unity. Three reasons are assigned for the separations among men who are adherents of the same Lord and Master. One is the substitution for the Christian Creed of a number of propositions on many disputed points. Another is the attempt to propagate truth by unspiritual means. A third is due to inadequate theories of the church. These matters are reviewed in two lectures on "The Doctrine of the Church." Of whom does the church consist? How shall schism be treated? Does any church represent perfectly the full apostolic tradition? What is our ideal of the church? These pointed questions are also impartially considered.

Dr. Headlam rightly holds that there should be a doctrinal basis of unity. We agree that the Scriptures should be that basis, but we disagree

in placing the Nicene Creed in that foundation. This is to look backward and not forward. Apart from the fact that this symbol expresses the beliefs of a former day, it is also seriously defective in its Christology; and moreover, creedal subscription has never secured orthodoxy but has often involved insincerity. The creeds are venerable documents, but to regard them as possessing finality would mean to do violence to the testimony and illumination of the Divine Spirit. Furthermore, with definition has come disunion, and this cannot be removed by rigid tests.

As might be expected, Dr. Headlam regards the episcopacy as furnishing the most practicable basis for union, not because it has apostolic authority but because the historical testimony of the church favors it. The authority of the bishop is derived from and dependent on the church. "It is not the mediæval bishop but the Catholic bishop of the primitive church that the present time needs" (p. 246). But where is he to be found? Not in Roman Catholicism with its papal pretensions, nor in the Eastern church with its corruptions, nor in Anglicanism where union without unity is so prevalent, because of the principle of Episcopal autonomy which permits each bishop to rule his own diocese, without regard to his fellow-bishops, if so minded. The argument breaks down when Dr. Headlam deals with questions of ordination, the sacraments, liturgical forms of worship, and the apostolic succession. His advocacy of spiritual freedom virtually weakens his contention for Episcopal authority. One of the fruitful causes of division is the assumption of ecclesiastical superiority and the refusal to practice mutual reciprocity. We need above all things an understanding of each other's point of view and an appreciation of our respective contributions toward Christian truth and experience. The practical suggestions in the lecture on "Reunion" voice prevalent sentiments on this subject. The whole book is a most comprehensive treatment and we welcome it as an irenicon from an authoritative source. The better day will come when each church is ready to make sacrifice for the sake of a common fellowship, a common ministry, and a common service of the world.

Side Reading

Freedom and Advance. By Oscar L. Joseph (Macmillan, $1.75). The chapters on "The Voice of Authority," "The Christian Ministry," and "Christian Worship" deal with some of the principles and practices of unity.

The Call to Unity. By William T. Manning (Macmillan, $2). Familiar arguments are refreshingly expounded in a generous spirit by a representative High Churchman who is optimistic of the present outlook. He appeals especially to the Anglican Church to realize and fulfill its obligation as a leader of the English-speaking world.

For any information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the Methodist Review, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

Dr. Ezra Squier Tipple, who was for many years Professor of Practical Theology in Drew Seminary, and who succeeded to its presidency on the retirement of Dr. Buttz, was uniquely fitted to furnish the fine appreciation of the Saint John of Modern Methodism.

A. W. Nagler is an instructor in Garrett Biblical Institute.

John Wright Buckham, professor of Christian Theology in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, an intellectual leader in American Congregationalism, is the author of many valuable works, including his recent volume on Progressive Religious Thought in America. Frank S. Hickman, still a student in "one of our schools," is first introduced to the readers of the Review in his essay which weighs naturalism on its sociological side. William Frank Martin, a Methodist pastor in Carey, Ohio, cleverly punctures some of the opinions of that interesting old naturalist, John Burroughs.

Dr. Gustavus E. Hiller, who appropriately writes on the resurrection as we approach Easter Day, is a leader in German Methodism, now stationed at Lafayette, Indiana.

Fred Smith, Congregational minister at Cornwall, Conn., has the appropriate environment in that "land of steady habits" and Puritan memories to acutely set forth the artistic side of Puritanism.

Charles Daniel Brodhead, the Methodist Episcopal pastor at Bryn Mawr, Pa., comes of a fine Methodist lineage. He is a nephew of Bishop Charles Wesley Burns.

We take the liberty of telling that Westholme Smith is the pen-name of W. C. Bissonette, a Methodist missionary at Kutien, Foochow, China.

In these Lenten days of Passion memories, we cannot fail to be helped by the devout study of the personal significance of the atonement by Isabelle Horton, a deaconess of our church, whose sacrificial service at the Halsted Street Church, Chicago, has borne rich fruitage.

The Biblical Research for the current issue is supplied by Ismar John Peritz, professor in Syracuse University. He was converted from Judaism to Christianity at the age of seventeen, is a member of several learned societies, and author of many erudite articles and books. Dr. John R. Van Pelt continues his useful and able work in our Foreign Outlook.

Oscar L. Joseph, author of Freedom and Advance, and other interesting books, supplies the Reading Course, and a number of the book reviews. Other appreciations come from the pens of such experts as Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, of Detroit; Edmund D. Soper, of Northwestern University; Lewis H. Chrisman, of West Virginia Wesleyan College; Marcus L. Buell, of Boston University School of Theology; and Colonel E. W. Halford, former journalist and secretary of President Harrison.

By mistake in the last issue of the Review, Professor A. C. Armstrong, of Wesleyan University, was called a Methodist. He is a member of a Congregational church in Middletown, Conn. The error was one of the letter and not of the spirit.

METHODIST REVIEW

MAY, 1921

RATIONALISM AND MYSTICISM

E. C. Wilm

Boston University

It is always a little hazardous to draw distinctions. Unless one stops with two or three large heads and familiar phrases, the world has no ear. Still, the universe is undoubtedly plural, human traits are multiform, and life is incoherent. Philosophy itself is not something simple and classic, "a marble temple shining on a hill," but an incompletely harmonized group of doctrines and attitudes, representing so many repeated and varying and often bootless attempts of man to find his Holy Grail, the absolute truth of things, which, hard as he presses his pursuit, still eludes his grasp. In the pursuit of his other aims, say happiness, he is no better. He tries the primrose path, or the *via dolorosa,* or he tries to enter his Eden by half a dozen gates at once. But the goal he seeks recedes before him, and often he sinks wearied and disillusioned by the way.

In the quest of knowledge, men have pursued various roads. Enumerating these somewhat in full, they are perception, reason, intuition, feeling, and action. The first two methods, perception and reason, are the methods of rationalistic science and philosophy; intuition and feeling give you mysticism; the fifth, the method of action, is pragmatism. Rationalism, mysticism, and pragmatism: these name the fundamental types of human philosophy. If it is desired to make these contrasts still more simple and massive, the methods of feeling and action, mysticism and pragmatism, could be contrasted with the method of reason, ration-

alism, thus giving us rationalist and irrationalist systems, rationalism and mysticism. I shall seek in this paper to illustrate a little more fully these contrasting attitudes, adding a brief comment on pragmatism in conclusion, so as to bring out the relation of this recent phenomenon to the classical rationalist and mystical types of philosophy.

The rationalist position I have nowhere seen stated more clearly and briefly than in Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's little book, Religion: A Criticism and a Forecast. "I have urged," writes Mr. Dickinson, "that there is only one method of knowledge, that of experience and legitimate inference from experience." In the great rationalist systems, of course, as every reader of philosophy knows, sense perception and reason have by no means been on an equal footing, reason often being contrasted with perception, to the disparagement of the latter. This is best illustrated in Plato. The things of sense, being particular and fleeting, Plato argued, cannot be the true reality, which is perfect and immutable, and to which the senses can never penetrate. So the recognition of any particular thing as a thing of its class or type presupposes a previous knowledge of the universal or type of which it is an example. You cannot recognize an act as just, for example, unless you know what justice is; and the same is true of white things, of beautiful things, and the rest. As the recognition of your friend's portrait implies a direct knowledge of your friend, so the recognition of anything as beautiful, or just, implies the existence of abstract beauty or justice, of which the soul already has knowledge. Furthermore, this knowledge cannot come through sense perception, for sense perception gives you only particulars, never the universal. This is Plato's celebrated theory of ideas, or eternal forms, natures or essences, of which the particular things of sense are only the imperfect copies or faint adumbrations. Plato's view has been excellently expressed in Mr. Santayana's Interpretations of Poetry and Religion. "Plato thought," writes Mr. Santayana, "that all the truth and meaning of earthly things was the reference they contained to a heavenly original. This heavenly original we remember to recognize even among the distortions, disappearances, and multiplications of its ephemeral copies. . . .

The impressions themselves have no permanence, no intelligible essence, but are always arising or ceasing to be. There must be, he tells us, an eternal and clearly definable object of which the visible appearances to us are the multiform semblance; now by one trait, now by another, the phantom before us reminds us of that half-forgotten celestial reality, and makes us utter its name. . . . We and the whole universe exist only in the attempt to return to our perfection, to lose ourselves again in God. That ineffable good is our natural possession; and all we are in this life is but a partial recovery of our birthright; every delightful thing is like a rift in the clouds, through which we catch a glimpse of our native heaven. And if that heaven seems so far away, and the idea of it so dim and unreal, it is because we are so far from perfect, so unversed in what is alien and destructive to the soul."

Hence you see the meaning in Plato's dazzling definition of philosophy as "the pursuit of death and a dying." The true sage, like the mediæval Christian, must die to the senses and the flesh if he is to know the truth and to make sure of his soul's salvation. The senses give you only illusion and error, as the desires lead only to evil. Sense must be subjugated and brought under the empire of reason, where alone lies man's true good.

The criticism of Plato has been mainly twofold. One class of criticism, as old as Aristotle, is directed against the sharp dualism between sense and intellect, the world of mundane objects and the world of ideas. The whole world of ideas, to which Plato attributed an independent existence, is after all reared upon the foundations of sense; our notions of justice, whiteness, and the like, being evolved out of the special experiences of life with particular objects and events. A more recent criticism of Plato, inspired mainly by modern science, is to the effect that in Plato ethical notions, and the distinction between good and evil, were allowed to play too predominant a rôle, thus distorting his whole view of the world, in which good and evil are after all not objective realities, still less power or potencies, as they appear in Plato, but merely subjective distinctions, growing up in our human life, and bound up with those very desires upon which Plato expresses so scornful a judgment. Any philosophy is likely to be sterile unless

it observes, in its investigations, a strict ethical neutrality, recognizing that good and evil are subjective; "that what is good is merely that toward which we have one kind of feeling, and what is evil merely that toward which we have another kind of feeling." "In our active life," says Mr. Bertrand Russell, "where we have to exercise choice, and to prefer this to that of two possible acts, it is necessary to have a distinction of good and evil, or at least of better and worse. . . . In our contemplative life, where action is not called for, it is possible to be impartial and to overcome the ethical dualism which action requires."[1]

Mr. Russell has described this ideal of philosophy in an extraordinarily fine passage in his little book, The Problems of Philosophy. One of the chief values of philosophy consists in its power to liberate man from the thralldom of the instinctive life, and in opening a way into a realm where the petty differences of feeling and the accidents of personal history do not enter. "The life of the instinctive man is shut up within the circle of his private interests: family and friends may be included, but the outer world is not regarded except as it may help or hinder what comes within the circle of instinctive wishes. In such a life there is something feverish and confined, in comparison with which the philosophic life is calm and free. The private world of instinctive interests is a small one, set in the midst of a great and powerful world which must, sooner or later, lay our private world in ruins. Unless we can so enlarge our interests as to include the whole outer world, we remain like a garrison in a beleaguered fortress, knowing that the enemy prevents escape and that ultimate surrender is inevitable. In such a life there is no peace, but a constant strife between the insistence of desire and the powerlessness of will. In one way or another, if our life is to be great and free, we must escape this prison and this strife. One way of escape is by philosophic contemplation. Philosophic contemplation does not, in its widest survey, divide the universe into two hostile camps—friends and foes, helpful and hostile, good and bad—it views the whole impartially. Philosophic contemplation, when it is unalloyed, does not aim at proving that the rest of the universe is akin

[1] Mysticism and Logic, p. 27.

to man. . . . The desire to prove this is a form of self-assertion, and like all self-assertion, it is an obstacle to the growth of the self which it desires, and of which the self knows that it is capable."

Although, then, ethical considerations play no part in a truly scientific philosophy, still, the habit of mind engendered by impartial contemplation will not be without its effect in the sphere of action and emotion. "The mind which has become accustomed to the freedom and impartiality of philosophic contemplation will preserve something of the same freedom and impartiality in the world of action and emotion. It will view its purposes and desires as parts of the whole, with the absence of insistence that results from seeing them as infinitesimal fragments in a world of which all the rest is unaffected by any one man's deeds. The impartiality which, in contemplation, is the unalloyed desire for truth, is the very same quality of mind which, in action, is justice, and in emotion is that universal love which can be given to all, and not only to those who are judged useful or admirable. Thus contemplation enlarges not only the objects of our thoughts, but also the objects of our actions and our affections; it makes us citizens of the universe, not only of one walled city at war with all the rest. In this citizenship of the universe consists man's true freedom, and his liberation from the thralldom of narrow hopes and fears."[1]

Golden words, these, and yet we stand face to face with the grim fact that after all the triumphs of science and knowledge, we have as the fruits

> ". . . a dark and groaning earth
> Given over to blind and endless strife."

With Browning's Paracelsus, we sit beside learning's dry wells, "with a white lip and filmed eye," with selfishness, anarchy, and dismal misery on every side. To this the answer is that these are not the fruits of knowledge, but of passion, and of the prostitution of knowledge to passion, the extent of whose destructiveness, the intelligence, when hate subsides, is able to measure and to some extent allay. A maturer wisdom would teach us to invent some way to curb rampant desire, or to subject it to some scheme of life befitting rational beings. It has never been clearer than it is

[1] Problems of Philosophy, p. 244ff.

to-day that unless better counsels prevail in the world, unless disinterestedness and reason gain the upper hand of greed, pugnacity, and the lust of dominion, the fairer parts of our civilization will be consumed, root and branch, by the fires of ignoble passion sweeping this unhappy planet. Metaphysics, said Kant, is the greatest of the sciences, but it does not yet exist. And so with the life of reason so eloquently defended by Mr. Russell; so with the virtues of pity and mercy, and of the love of neighbor, recommended by stoicism and by the founders of Christianity. Christianity, too, is the greatest of religions, but it does not yet exist.

We turn to the two modern systems which illustrate a wholly different method of knowledge, mysticism and pragmatism. They are perhaps best represented by two recent writers, Henri Bergson and William James. I give a brief word to each.

The gist of the Bergsonian position may be said to be his anti-intellectualism, his criticism of conceptual knowledge. Bergson's criticism of the intellect is in substance that since the intellect's activity is essentially analytical, it cannot grasp reality in the forms in which it actually exists, that is, as living wholes. The intellect is like a refracting medium, which shatters the reality it seeks to grasp, much as homogeneous light is broken into the separate colors by the prism through which it passes, or as a work of art is reduced to mere unmeaning fragments by being subjected to intellectual analysis, or the friend whom you love appears for science as merely a combination of so many parts or structures, all that you know most intimately, and most value, in your friend having slipped through the conceptual meshes of science, and eluded the grasp. As Goethe says in the well-known lines:

> "Wer will was Lebendig's erkennen und beschreiben,
> Sucht erst den Geist herauszutreiben;
> Dann hat er die Teile in seiner Hand,
> Fehlt leider nur das geistige Band."[1]

Perhaps we shall best understand the anti-intellectualist position by comparing the form in which experience originally comes

[1] May be roughly paraphrased thus:
"Who would what's living know and state,
Seeks spirit first to eliminate;
Then holds but fragments in his hand,
Without the spirit's vital bond."

to us, say in the earliest dawn of the child's consciousness, with the form it eventually takes under the influence of intellectual reconstruction. The primordial sense consciousness of the young infant, or of one of the lower animal forms, is doubtless a comparatively structureless, homogeneous affair, much like the jellylike body of an animal organism at a very low stage of animal evolution, nowhere showing those cleavages, lines, and boundaries which give to our maturer experience so much structure and relational variety. I quote from a little work of my own, on the philosophy of Bergson: "It is thus through our intellectual analyses and recombinations that the objects, classes, lines of spatial temporal and dynamic relationship, which so endlessly divide our experience, come about, the whole taking on an increasing order and organization with the progress of intellectual sophistication. What was originally homogeneous thus becomes heterogeneous; what was telescoped and run together becomes differentiated and cut off. What was current and continuous, Bergson would add, becomes immobile and stereotyped! For relation means fixation. The intellectual identification of parts or phases of the flux for purposes of future reference or practical control means their arrest and permanent solidification. We thus see the fundamental imperfection of all human knowledge, its inadequacy as an instrument to convey to us the truth about that which is real. The phases of reality are evanescent; our ideas or concepts referring to them are motionless and eternal. Reality is fluent; our meanings are fixed and standardized. Reality as it is is wild and on the wing; reality as it exists for the intellect is dead, mounted, and scientifically classified."[1]

Now I suppose that the fundamental point at issue is whether reality is more adequately represented in the bare awareness of primordial sense consciousness, in the undifferentiated, unanalyzed mass which the earliest infant and animal experience presents, or whether, on the other hand, we get an ever truer account of reality through the employment of the analytical and synthetic powers of intelligence which in our later maturity we so much use, and which we call by the proud name of reflection or reason. We confront

[1] Henri Bergson. Macmillan. Pp. 26, 27.

here the rather startling question whether science brings us nearer the truth as it refines its methods and deepens its erudition, or whether the searcher after truth must not become as a child again, if he would enter the kingdom of incorruptible wisdom.

Bergson clearly inclines toward the latter view. The alternative, as it presents itself to him, is either agnosticism or else the employment of some faculty or method essentially different from that of the scientific intellect. Scientific knowledge, pursued exclusively, does indeed lead to relativism and skepticism. But man is not shut up to the necessity of always transmuting reality into scientific concepts and symbols. There is an entirely different method of approaching truth. This method is intuition.

But what is intuition? A favorite way of describing intuition is to say that it is a process of placing oneself within an object, transporting oneself into the process of becoming itself, instead of taking mere views of it from the outside. "There are two profoundly different ways of knowing a thing. The first implies that we move around the object; the second that we enter into it. The first depends on the point of view at which we are placed and on the symbols by which we express ourselves. The second neither depends on a point of view nor relies on any symbol. The first kind of knowledge may be said to stop at the relative; the second, in those cases where it is possible, to attain the absolute." Intuition is the "kind of intellectual sympathy by which one places oneself within an object in order to coincide with what is unique in it, and therefore inexpressible."

The notion of intuition, as thus explained, does not much trouble us so long as we confine ourselves to the observation of our inner life, for we doubtless have an immediate and sympathetic acquaintance with our inner experience which no amount of psychological description can possibly replace. Intuition of the inner life might, then, mean simply living it, grasping the whole of it in a single sympathetic view. In such an intuition, as already suggested, the terms and distinctions of the psychology books would be completely left behind, and the soul life would be apprehended in its indivisible unity—a unity in which there would be no external juxtaposition of parts, previously scissored out of the concrete

flow of experience, and not sharply sundered before and after, but a complete interpenetration of phases, each phase qualifying and impregnating every other. The content of intuition is pure "duration"; intuition is just this non-analytical appreciation of the unbroken flow of inner experiences—unbroken except for the qualitative modulations within it, those variations of color and emphasis which render our inner life so replete with interest and vicissitude.

So far the matter is simple enough. But when we come to inquire into the power of intuition to penetrate external nature (provided we really mean more by intuition than simple sense-perception), the problem becomes decidedly more difficult. Precisely what, we may ask, does Bergson mean by taking one's place within a reality other than ourselves?

The phrase "intellectual sympathy," often used by Bergson in the definition of intuition, seems to suggest the answer. The process of intuition appears to involve an ascription to nature of a psychical life similar to our own. It is only by thus animating it, by viewing it in impassioned contemplation, that I can penetrate nature's outward shell, and enter into the true inwardness of its life. This seems to be the meaning of Bergson's statement that knowledge implies a coincidence of the mind with the generative act of reality, with the evolution of things; the only way to know an object is to become it.

It will perhaps aid us in getting some notion of the intellectual sympathy of which Bergson speaks, the *Miterleben*, that sharing of the inner life of the reality we aspire to grasp, if we remind ourselves of some illustrations of this process with which we are acquainted in our own experience.

The projection of our own ideas and feelings into the mind of another person is of course a familiar process, and the hopeless inability of two persons to understand each other if there exists between them some invincible discrepancy of temperament or point of view is one of the most familiar of human experiences. The only way to understand a writer, or an historical figure, we often hear, is to suppress, for the time, one's own private personality or selfhood, to take the point of view of the person concerned.

The nearest analogue to this partial assimilation of subject and object in our relation with what is usually considered the inanimate world is the process of so-called æsthetic sympathy (the German *Einfühlung*), by which, to use the words of Karl Gross, "we live through the psychic life which a lifeless object would experience if it possessed a mental life like our own."

Bergson, indeed, in a significant passage in Creative Evolution, makes the identical comparison between metaphysical and æsthetic intuition of which we are here speaking. "That an effort of this kind," he says, referring to intuition, "is not impossible, is proved by the existence in man of an æsthetic faculty along with normal perception. Our eye perceives the features of a living being as merely assembled, not as mutually organized. The intention of life, the simple movement that runs through the lines, that binds them together and gives them significance, escapes it. The intention is just what the artist tries to regain, in placing himself back within the object by a kind of sympathy, in breaking down, by an effort of intuition, the barrier that space puts up between him and his model." Bergson frequently compares the philosopher with the poet. Neither employs the method of analysis upon which science relies: the common method is intuition.

The whole point of view presented here will doubtless be better appreciated by a nature poet of the Wordsworthian type than by the scientist or philosopher whose finer perception has, according to Bergson, been dulled, and his power of immediate apprehension stultified, by the method of scientific indirection which he has long practiced. Poetry abounds in passages the sweep and insight of which does sometimes seem to place the poet in a category exclusively his own. One of the most notable instances of nature animation and of dramatic sympathy with nature's supposed inner life is the exquisite piece of rhetoric in Part V of Browning's Paracelsus, the first lines of which could hardly be improved upon as a description of the Bergsonian distinction between intellect and instinct:

> "I knew, I felt (perception unexpressed,
> Uncomprehended by our narrow thought,
> But somehow felt and known in every shift

> And change of the spirit—nay in every pore
> Of the body, even), what God is, what we are,
> What life is," etc.

That the psychic life of nature is merely projected into nature dramatically by man is suggested by Browning with a clearness which ought to delight even so disenchanted a critic of Bergson as Mr. Santayana, who appears to see in Bergson little more than a "literary psychologist":

> "Not alone
> For their possessor dawn those qualities,
> But the new glory mixes with the heaven
> And earth; man, once descried, imprints forever
> His presence on all lifeless things: the winds
> Are henceforth voices, wailing or a shout,
> A querulous mutter, or a quick gay laugh,
> Never a senseless gust now man is born.
> The herded pines commune and have deep thoughts,
> A secret they assemble to discuss
> When the sun drops behind their trunks which glare
> Like grates of hell: the peerless cup afloat
> Of the lake-lily is an urn, some nymph
> Swims bearing high upon her head: no bird
> Whistles unseen, but through the gaps above
> That let light in upon the gloomy woods,
> A shape peeps from the breezy forest-top,
> Arch with small puckered mouth and mocking eye.
> The morn has enterprise, deep quiet droops
> With evening, triumph takes the sunset hour,
> Voluptuous transport ripens with the corn
> Beneath the warm moon like a happy face."

The passage should be read in full for a masterly illustration of an animism such as Bergson seems to advocate.

That the act of intuition is a difficult one is for Bergson beyond doubt, and he often insists upon it. The coarse necessity of living and acting, and the intellectual instrumentalities made necessary thereby, have accustomed us to a certain side-by-sideness of things, a certain crust or covering of spatial framework, which has all but ruined our apprehension of the inner unity of life.

Intuition in man is but vague and intermittent. These fleeting intuitions, which now light up their objects at distant intervals, philosophy ought to seize upon, to sustain, to expand, and at last unite. The more it advances, the more clearly it will

see that intuition is mind itself, and in a certain sense, life itself.

The general tendency of pragmatism, especially as represented in the writings of William James, wholly corroborates the Bergsonian estimate of the intellect. The concepts of science are a sort of intellectual shorthand which we substitute for the particulars of which reality is exclusively composed. "Concepts are secondary formations, inadequate and only ministerial; they falsify as well as omit, and make the flux of experience impossible to understand."[5] Many time-honored problems of metaphysics, such as materialism and idealism, natural causality and design, freedom and fate, God and immortality, are on the intellectual plane wholly insoluble. The only question, therefore, which concerns us is the practical question as to which of these various alternative beliefs has the greater pragmatic significance, that is, which meets the various needs of life best. The highest category is not truth, but life:

> "Grau, theurer Freund, ist all Theorie,
> Und grün des Lebens goldner Baum!"[6]

And who of us has not realized in his sincerer moments that all our boasted science and knowledge is perhaps little better than ignorance; that what we see here is but the barest surfaces of things, and that their vaster meanings are perhaps almost totally hidden from us? Any genuine philosophy, no matter what else it teaches, should teach us to allay somewhat our dogmatism, and prepare us for possibilities beyond any dreamt of by philosophy.

One thinks of the fine word of Santayana, speaking of Spinoza, that great teacher of the essential unsearchableness of the divine nature: "When people tell us that they have the key to all reality in their pockets, or in their hearts, that they know who made the world, and why, or know that everything is matter, or that everything is mind—then Spinoza's notion of the absolutely infinite, which included all possibilities, may profitably arise before us. It will counsel us to say to those little gnostics, those circumnavigators of being: I do not believe you; God is great."

[5] Some Problems of Philosophy, p. 79.

[6] Gray is all theory, dear friend,
But green the golden tree of life.

"THE RUBAIYAT" AND "IN MEMORIAM": A COMPARISON

JAMES MAIN DIXON
University of Southern California

THE masterpiece of Edward Fitzgerald, which for sixty years has held such a grip on thinking people, seeming to satisfy so many with its cynical philosophy of life, is indeed a piece of grim heresy, withering the glory of life, and sapping the groundwork of faith. Why it should have been written by a kindly personage like Tennyson's "Old Fitz" is a real puzzle. Here are the poet laureate's lines:

> Old Fitz, who from your suburb grange,
> Where once I tarried for a while,
> Glance at the wheeling Orb of change,
> And greet it with a friendly smile;
> Whom yet I see as there you sit
> Beneath your sheltering garden-tree,
> And watch your doves about you flit,
> And plant on shoulder, hand and knee.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Who reads your golden Eastern lay,
> Than which I know no version done
> In English more divinely well;
> A planet equal to the sun
> Which cast it, that large infidel
> Your Omar; and your Omar drew
> Full-handed plaudits from our best
> In modern letters.

His "Rubaiyat" is so different from Tennyson's own masterpiece, "In Memoriam," that it would seem as if there could be little community of thought and ideals between the two poets. The one is a treasury for sincere believers, a book of verse to be read for spiritual aid at any time, but particularly at Christmas tide, when the responsibilities and the trials of a new year are ahead of us. The other furnishes a creed for pleasure-lovers, who delight in a secular Sunday and shun responsibilities, supplies an armory of quotations for smart young sciolists, and is quoted by despondent suicides before they commit the last rash act.

And yet the two poems came out of the same fruitful nursery of letters, the Cambridge of ninety years ago, "the reverend walls" where both Tennyson and Fitzgerald "wore the gown." To Tennyson it proved a place of discipline and inculcation of high ideals of conduct:

Where once we held debate, a band
Of youthful friends; on mind and art,
And labor, and the changing mart,
And all the framework of the land;

When one would aim an arrow fair,
But send it slackly from the string;
And one would pierce an outer ring,
And one an inner, here and there;

And last the master-bowman, he,
Would cleave the mark. A willing ear
We lent him. Who, but hung to hear
The rapt oration flowing free

From point to point with power and grace
And music in the bounds of law,
To those conclusions when we saw
The God within him light his face.

Tennyson belonged to a class brotherhood of twelve, known as the "Cambridge Apostles," who took life very seriously, and criticized each other keenly. Among these "Apostles" were such men as James Spedding, the authority on Bacon; the poet Richard Monckton Milnes, who was for nearly thirty years an active member of the House of Commons, being raised to the peerage as Lord Houghton for his services to the country; and Richard Chevenix Trench, later Archbishop of Dublin, poet, theologian, and executive. His fine lines on Duty strike the opposite note to that of "The Rubaiyat":

O righteous doom, that they make
Pleasure their only end;
Ordering the whole life for its sake,
Miss that whereto they tend;

While they who bid stern Duty lead,
Content to follow, they,
Of Duty only taking heed,
Find pleasure by the way.

Fitzgerald, however, was not in this set; nor even acquainted with them. To quote from a biographer, A. C. Benson:

> Fitzgerald was not an earnest student. He pottered about, read such classical authors as he liked in a desultory way; occupied himself with water-color drawing, music, and poetry. He cared nothing for the political and social occupations which set his companions aglow; he walked, talked, strolled into his friends' rooms; he smoked, drank coffee, sang songs, and exchanged sketches with Thackeray. He had plenty of money, but no expensive tastes.

His pocket money came through a wealthy mother, heiress of a house of Irish absentee landlords; hence he inherited no deep sense of responsibility. Money came easily, and he lived as he pleased, in a kindly careless way, devoted to literary pursuits.

The career of Omar Khayyam, whom Edward Fitzgerald was to interpret and immortalize, was of a similar kind. Sent by his father to study under one of the greatest teachers of the age, at that home of learning, Naishapur, he formed a friendship there with a fellow student who later rose to power and affluence at the court of the reigning Sultan. This friend had promised to let his companions share his fortunes if he succeeded in life and was true to his vow. When Omar came to claim from his companion, now Vizier, his share of the good things of life, he did not ask for title or office. "The greatest boon you can confer on me," he said, "is to let me live in a corner under the shadow of your fortune, to spread wide the advantages of Science, and pray for your long life and prosperity." He had his wish, and continued to live at Naishapur, busied in knowledge of every kind, and an expert in astronomy. When the Shah determined to reform the calendar, Omar was one of the eight men employed to do it; and the job was well done. He also wrote a treatise on Algebra, which has been translated into French:

> Ah, but my Computations, People say,
> Reduced the Year to better reckoning?—Nay,
> 'Twas only striking from the Calendar
> Unborn To-morrow, and dead Yesterday.

Perhaps the term "large infidel" which Tennyson applies to Omar, throws light on the matter. In his quatrains there is a wistful longing after the best, a full acknowledgment of the unsatisfac-

tory nature of the creed he expounds, as a second-best; a kind of sub-bravado in its exposition. They do not breathe a profound pessimism, a complete disillusion with the condition of things mundane, such as we find in "Hamlet" or the opening quatrains of "In Memoriam," particularly Section I, 2; rather a refined Epicureanism, which shrinks from committing itself to a deeper and more satisfying philosophy of life.

Of course, although Fitzgerald is only a translator of Omar, and in the last issue there remain some distinctions between their ethical teachings, yet they have substantially the same outlook on life. The highly endowed Englishman, with his assured social niche in a rich and assertive civilization, found a congenial personage in the astronomer-philosopher of Naishapur. For this Oriental city, in the following quatrain, we might read "Cambridge," and for "Babylon" we might read "London":

> Whether at Naishapur or Babylon,
> Whether the Cup with sweet or bitter run,
> The Wine of Life keeps oozing drop by drop,
> The Leaves of Life keep falling one by one.

It is the old case of history repeating itself. Sometimes succeeding centuries are less close to each other in the type of man and philosophy they produce, than centuries that are far distant. The Oxford muser and scholar Walter Pater went back seventeen hundred years to find a congenial theme in his "Marius the Epicurean"; and it has been remarked that Imperial Rome of the second century was wonderfully alike in most essentials of civilization to Imperial England of the nineteenth. These Seljukian Moslems of Omar's eleventh century, who gave to the world such a type of magnanimous ruler and chivalric warrior as Saladin, were not persons to be minimized or scorned; they were intellectual leaders.

Even in a detail like the rhymed stanza the two civilizations have something in common. This addition to verse, which gives it a satisfying flavor that appeals to the mental palate, came into our serious poetry through the Latin hymns of the Dark Ages. At the same time it was being developed in Arabian poetry, and found a congenial home in the Persian poetry of the eleventh cen-

tury. Used artistically, rhyme has a singular power of emphasizing deep religious conviction; as in the magnificent triple rhymes of the *"Dies Irae":*

Dies irae, dies illa,
Solvet saecla in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla;

or the soothing and satisfying quadruple rhymes of Saint Bernard's hymn:

Jesu dulcis memoria
Dans vera cordis gaudia,
Sed super mel et omnia
Dulcis eius praesentia.

It was used for the more serious as well as for lighter themes in Persian poetry, and in a very elaborate way. A translator, therefore, who would omit the rhyme element of a poem like "The Rubaiyat" in his rendering, merely attending to the meaning, thereby fails to give an essential part of the effect. In choosing the particular kind of stanza that he did, Fitzgerald was particularly fortunate. It had a peculiar appositeness for his theme.

If we compare it with the stanza of "In Memoriam," the difference of movement is apparent. To begin with, Tennyson's stanza, which he made his own, has the simpler and more direct eight-syllable line:

This truth came borne with bier and pall,
I felt it, when I sorrow'd most,
'Tis better to have loved and lost,
Than never to have loved at all.

In this line there is no room for decorative epithet; the statement is made simply, and then the poet passes on. Each line has its appropriate function. The first line begins with a statement in the normal, to be uttered clearly and soberly. The second follows with what is supplementary and explanatory; then comes the third, rhyming with the second, but with growing emphasis and driving power. The fourth and last line is grave and stately, taking up the rhyme of the first, completing the whole thought, and rounding off the stanza. Moreover, the absence of a rhyming connection between the third and fourth makes pos-

sible a dignified parallelism, in the style of the Hebrew psalm or proverb. In the stanza just quoted, the parallelism takes the form of a comparison, as in Proverbs 15. 16:

> Better is little with the fear of the Lord
> Than great treasure and trouble therewith.

The parallelism of contrast is often found, such as appears in the last verse of the first Psalm:

> For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous:
> But the way of the ungodly shall perish.

Compare this with the closing lines of "In Memoriam," Section xl:

> My paths are in the fields I know,
> And thine in undiscover'd lands.

The parallelism for additional emphasis on the thought is also frequent in "In Memoriam," as in xxxiv, 1:

> Else earth is darkness at the core,
> And dust and ashes all that is.

Compare this with a verse like that in Psalm 5:

> The foolish shall not stand in thy sight:
> Thou hatest all workers of iniquity.

It will be seen that Tennyson's stanza is peculiarly suited to the enunciation of helpful, constructive, and progressive thought:

> Eternal process moving on,
> From state to state the spirit walks;
> And these are but the shatter'd stalks,
> Or ruin'd chrysalis of one.

But when we come to Fitzgerald's quatrain, the movement is altogether different. In the first place, the line suits the decorative epithet, as in the following, with its adjectives "tender" and "lovely":

> And this reviving Herb whose tender Green
> Fledges the River-Lip on which we lean—
> Ah, lean upon it lightly! for who knows
> From what once lovely Lip it springs unseen!

The stanza begins with the complacent heroic couplet, which Dryden and Pope brought to perfection; and then the third comes in, not with a fresh rhyme, please observe, but with no rhyme at

all! Where the thought should strengthen—as it does in Tennyson's "In Memoriam" stanza—here there is a call to be sarcastic and non-constructive, as in the cold-blooded quatrain, "Rubaiyat" xiii:

> Some of the Glories of this World; and some
> Sigh for the Prophet's Paradise to come;
> Ah, take the Cash, and let the Credit go,
> Nor heed the rumble of a distant drum!

The third line, it will be found in reading "The Rubaiyat," is used constantly as a pin-prick to burst the bubble of the initial couplet; and the fourth, rhyming with the first and second, completes the disillusion. For "The Rubaiyat" strikes throughout the note of disillusion. The business is done quaintly and half-humorously, as if the poet would prefer all the time to be with the believers. It is, so to say, rather the enunciation of a dark mood, or lapse into unfaith, than a proclamation of infidelity. Hence Tennyson's apt phrase in characterizing Omar, "That large infidel." There is an underlying kindliness in Omar's attitude; he cannot solve the question of God's just government of the universe in the usual harsh theological way, and so gives up the problem humorously:

> But leave the Wise to wrangle, and with me
> The Quarrel of the Universe let be:
> And, in some corner of the Hubbub coucht,
> Make game of that which makes as much of Thee.

Treated in an aloof or detached way, as a mathematical inquiry, the problem of the universe is indeed a difficult one. Wise indeed are the words of Tennyson ("In Memoriam," lxxxv):

> Yet none could better know than I,
> How much of act at human hands
> The sense of human will demands
> By which we dare to live or die.

We must be fellow-workers with God to understand the problem of His universe.

The discipline which Fitzgerald so sorely needed to control his waywardness, and which his student life at Cambridge did not furnish, failed to come to him in his after career. Tennyson,

whom he knew later, had to spend over twelve long years of hard work to win his bride. Of him it might truly be said, in his own inimitable lines:

Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all its chords with might,
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight.

Fitzgerald on the other hand finally married a woman out of kindness, because he had promised her father to look after her welfare; and his odd ways, which he refused to alter one whit, made happy married life impossible. And so he reverted to his slovenly, easy-going bachelor habits, and the two lived apart. He also came under religious influence at one time, under the preaching of a devoted man, an evangelist, the Rev. Timothy Richard Matthews, who made a passionate convert of his brother John. Matthews "believed in Jesus Christ, and had no misgivings whatever," wrote Fitzgerald; "and his sermons shook my soul." Such unquestioning faith was what he hankered after. But it did not go beyond the passing emotional stage in his own case; and his criticism in the case of his brother John, who for some time was an eager evangelist, was unfavorable. The creed evidently did not touch the whole man, and had not been fitted into the rest of his beliefs and character. The experience did not really deepen John Fitzgerald's character; it only accentuated eccentricities. With neither did it happen, as with Hallam and later with Tennyson:

He fought his doubts and gather'd strength,
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them: thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And Power was with him in the night,
Which makes the darkness and the light,
And dwells not in the light alone.

How different this "Power," a pinnacle to which the whole Section xcvi climbs up, giving a reason for the capital letter, from the whimsical capitalized terms of "The Rubaiyat."

This brings us to the deliberately odd printing of the nouns in "The Rubaiyat," the seemingly capricious capital letters. Some might call it a mere bit of antiquarian sentiment; for English

printing at the time of Anne and later had similar peculiarities. I have open before me the hymn-book used by the Wesleys in the year 1737, and this is the way the stanzas are printed:

> Jesu, vouchsafe my Heart and Will
> With thy meek Lowliness to fill;
> No more her Power let Nature boast,
> But in thy Will may mine be lost.

All the nouns have capital letters, it may be noted; in "The Rubaiyat" there is a whimsical distinction. Why did English printing surrender nearly all the capital letters, retaining emphatically a favored few? And why did French reject practically all capital letters in nouns? And why did German retain the capital letters? Where lies the hidden reason?

A distinguished Englishman, peerless as a combination of literary man and statesman, Viscount Morley—but formerly plain John Morley, the later title of nobility hardly suiting his personality—at one period in his career began to spell the name of God without a capital letter. At this earlier time he was a distinct Positivist in his philosophic belief, and believed that the capitalization of the name of the deity was a kind of orthodox fetish. He struck at a vital point in orthodoxy, taking us away back to the eternal Logos, enunciated in Plato's philosophy, and found in the "Word" of the Gospel of Saint John. As long as books are printed in English the opening verse of this Gospel will have the term "Word" printed with an initial capital: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Those who make the essential mistake of understanding by the term Word the written Bible should remember that we can and often do spell "bible" without capitalization; but the far more sacred "Word," in the religious sense, stands in a higher category. Tennyson so uses the term at Section xxxvi of his "In Memoriam":

> And so the Word had breath, and wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds
> In loveliness of perfect deeds,
> More strong than all poetic thought.

That is, the "Word" became flesh in the human Christ; a doctrine abhorrent to Mohammedanism, which regards such a con-

ception as unspiritual and anthropomorphic. Naturally we do not find the term in Omar's philosophy, nor in Fitzgerald's; a mathematical understanding of the universe has no place for it. Moreover the Koran, being regarded as God's "Word" in a very immediate sense, gathers to itself the idealism in human personality, and leaves the world so much the poorer.

The same process had been present in Christian thought in the century before Fitzgerald; the limiting of God's glory to a written book, giving us the heresy of bibliolatry. In his time, in Evangelical circles, the "Word" had shrunk to a printed book, before which the human reason must bow. Such a condition of literature and life was present in Omar's world of the eleventh century.

Written at different periods, and a literature in itself rather than a piece of literature, the Christian Bible could never be relegated by its devotees to the extraordinary place of worship which the Koran has held in orthodox Mohammedanism. Here the intoxication of language is at its highest. God himself is accepted as the speaker, not the Prophet; and it cannot therefore be properly translated into another tongue. He who thus renders its hallowed sentences breaks the fascination of the tones, the terms, the movement, which are sacred. So much so, that the Koran has never been printed detached from the original text, except by Christian missionaries. To the Moslem—and every Moslem has at least some acquaintance with the Arabic language —the Koran sums up God's glory and God's message to man. No divine message comes through the outer world.

The unfortunate result followed in literature, that poetry came to be regarded as secular, and accepted this secondary and sensuous place. Such a definition remains to us from a Persian authority, Nidhami of Samarkand, a contemporary of Dante. "Poetry is that art," he declares, "whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions, and adapts the deductions, with the result that he can make a little thing appear great, and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the garb of good." It became, in fact, a case of "art for art's sake," that blighting heresy with which we to-day are only too familiar.

The sounder and better interpretation of the term "Word," which gives us an immanent God, instead of a remote lawgiver and tyrant, is to be traced back to Plato "the wise," classed by Tennyson as one of the two "first who knew." His philosophy centers in the Theory of Ideas, by which the world is regarded as the garment or the manifestation of the pure, archetypal essences which constitute the Eternal. Each essence, viewed either æsthetically or ethically, is perfect in its kind, and the given reality always remains inferior. Before all individual things, and interpreting them, is the spaceless and timeless archetype, the Idea. Ideas, leading up to the highest of ideas, the Good, he regarded as efficient causes which impart to individuals their essence and their existence.

Here then we have a world which has a high and definite purpose; a world with a central sun, from which radiate Ideas and Intelligence. The angels are to be regarded as embodiments of this Intelligence, and are indeed termed "Intelligences" by Tennyson ("In Memoriam," lxxxv):

> The great Intelligences fair
> That range above our mortal state,
> In circle round the blessed gate,
> Received and gave him welcome there;
>
> And led him thro' the blissful climes,
> And show'd him in the fountain fresh
> All knowledge that the sons of flesh
> Shall gather in the cycled times.

This is said of Hallam, when he "crossed the bar." How different the universe of intellectual abstractions, conceived algebraically, in the Omar quatrain:

> I sent my Soul through the Invisible
> Some letter of that After-life to spell:
> And by and by my Soul returned to me,
> And answered, "I Myself am Heaven and Hell."

The heavenly Ideas, radiating from a central sun, have disappeared, and the only ideas left are the sense concepts in this world of Time and Place.

It is to be remembered that the study of Algebra, itself a word of Arabic origin, was begun and developed in the Moham-

medan world before it entered Europe through the Spanish universities. Descartes was the first European philosopher of standing who formulated a world from the algebraic basis of a proposition, developing the theme step by step; and Europe accepted the Cartesian theory, which found its most logical exponent in the Scottish skeptic, David Hume. Such a philosophy goes very well side by side with a Word contained in a Book, to be interpreted through exegesis; itself in the last issue an intellectual process. But the mind hungry after the really spiritual, satisfying both intellect and spirit, feels itself left out in the cold. There is no room in this cramped philosophy for the heavenly Ideas present in all life.

At the close of the eighteenth century, with the cataclysm of the French revolution, the world divided itself into two; those who accepted a rational interpretation of the universe, on the Cartesian principle of the individual man being the center of things; and those who kept to the orthodox Platonic view of a central sun of light and life, which humanity apprehends mystically. And so French printing even was affected; and refused to give capital letters to such "abstractions" as God and the Word, the Good. Platonic Idealism, which Christianity had absorbed and interpreted, gave way at Paris to a Utilitarian Materialism, which rejected the mystic. But in England, with the wave of Evangelical thought which gained strength as the century closed, and found its poetical expression in such a masterpiece as Wordsworth's "Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Childhood," Platonism asserted itself; and the old ideas, so far as they touched Life, were still dignified with capital letters:

> The Youth, who daily farther from the East
> Must travel, still is Nature's Priest,
> And by the vision splendid
> Is on his way attended;
> At length the Man perceives it die away,
> And fade into the light of common day.

There is, of course, an honorific element in the use of capital letters with both nouns and pronouns. The German language makes a distinction between *sie* signifying "they"—its original

meaning—and *Sie* meaning "you," a polite form which evades the abrupt personal address. It has at the same time, with an academic, conservative precision, retained the capital letter for all nouns, as in the English of two hundred years ago. But while English retains the use of capital letters, as French does, for all proper names and appellations, there has remained also a subtle Platonic idealism in its refusal to go further. The English reader expects a capital letter with terms that are to be understood in a spiritual way, as if they were to be regarded more as Ideas than as mere names for ordinary experiences. Thus Tennyson in his "In Memoriam" capitalizes Love and Grief, the victor Hours, Sorrow, Nature, Soul, Death, Shadow, Thought, Speech, Hope, Wisdom, Time, Place, the True, the Just. All of these terms, as he uses them, borrow a dignity from being related mysteriously to a central Intelligence or Will, which disposes of our destinies. We are taken out of the merely actual and phenomenal into the Real of Platonic thought, which dominates the physical.

But as soon as "we take the Cash and let the Credit go"—as soon as we discount the validity of the central authority that runs the universe, the world of our thinking reverts to a kind of animism, which finds a quasi-personality in material objects. After all, the human spirit must have personality around it; and if it ceases to be in touch with a dominating central Will, to be approached by prayer and supplication, it makes friends with trees, stones, and ordinary utensils:

> A Book of Verses underneath the Bough,
> A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou
> Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
> Oh, Wilderness were Paradise enow!

The capital letters seem to turn the high tragedy of Life into a human comedy:

> We are no other than a moving row
> Of Magic Shadow-shapes that come and go
> Round with the Sun-illumined Lantern held
> In Midnight by the Master of the Show.

The theology which in Mohammedan Persia and in Christian England made Heaven and Hell depend for every man on the

acceptance of a written book, containing statements that proved a growing difficulty to intelligent readers and thinkers, naturally produced skeptics. They felt that, with such a "scheme of salvation," Deity did not give a "square deal"; and were rebellious:

> What! out of senseless Nothing to provoke
> A conscious Something to resent the yoke
> Of unpermitted Pleasure, under pain
> Of Everlasting Penalties, if broke!
>
> What! from his helpless Creature be repaid
> Pure Gold for what he lent him dross-allayed—
> Sue for a Debt we never did contract,
> And cannot answer—Oh the sorry trade!

This attitude may be conceded to both Omar and his English translator; but Fitzgerald goes further than the original in a following quatrain:

> Oh Thou, who Man of Baser Earth didst make,
> And even with Paradise devise the Snake:
> For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
> Is blackened—Man's forgiveness give—and take!

His scholarly friend, Cowell, protested against the lines as unwarranted by anything Omar had written; but Fitzgerald refused to omit them. They remind me of a passage in one of the very theological novels of George Macdonald, his David Elginbrod. An ancestor of the hero, a German immigrant, had left a volume of Jacob Boehme as a family heirloom; a first copy, printed in 1612. David was interested in the book and its possessor, and went to Aberdeen a week-end errand to see his grave. Here is how he tells the story to his friend:

"But I canna help tellin' ye a curious thing, Mr. Sutherlan', in connection wi' the name on that buik; there's a gravestane, a very auld ane, an' the name upo' that gravestane is Martin Elginbrod, but made mention o' in a strange fashion; an' I'm no sure a' thegither aboot hoo ye'll tak' it, for it soun's rather fearsome at first hearin' o't. But ye'se hae't as I read it:

> "Here lie I, Martin Elginbrodde:
> Hae mercy o' my soul, Lord God;
> As I wad do, were I Lord God,
> And ye were Martin Elginbrodde."

The epitaph does strike a note that savors of irreverence, and is alien from the dignified Oriental as it is from the Puritan the-

ology of such a man as John Robinson, who was filled with a sense of God's glory as if he had been an ancient Hebrew. The word "glory" in its richer sense disappears from cynical quatrains like "The Rubaiyat." It comes into one quatrain, the ninety-third, in the sense of worldly reputation or fame, "that last infirmity of noble mind." The plural "Glories" in the sense of worldly splendors is found in quatrain xiii, and the verb "gloried" in a doubtful connection at xviii:

> They say the Lion and the Lizard keep
> The Courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep.

There is, in fact, no possibility of a dignified use of the word glory where the self, the individual will, is not absorbed, "caught up" so to speak, in a higher self and will. The danger with strong drink is, that for the time being the will is mastered, and the man forgets himself. Wordsworth, himself a bit of a Puritan, conceded that the two lines in Burns's "Tam o' Shanter" strike a vital note:

> Kings may be blessed, but Tam was glorious,
> O'er a' the ills o' life victorious!

Fitzgerald, with Omar, concedes this "glory" to Wine, as Burns did to Scotch whisky; in either case a sorry second-best, to say the least. The danger of alcohol, says Sir Robert Armstrong Jones, the British expert on mental diseases, "is its destruction of the power to say 'No,' which is really the only distinction between man and the lower animals."

Tennyson begins his masterpiece with an enunciation of the true doctrine of the Self:

> Our wills are ours, we know not how;
> Our wills are ours, to make them Thine.

Six times does he use the term "glory" in "In Memoriam," and always in a mystic sense. When the friend, whose noble personality seemed to him almost divine, came back to him in his dreams, it was to bring the sunshine of heaven:

> I dream'd there would be Spring no more,
> That Nature's ancient power was lost:
> The streets were black with smoke and frost,
> They chatter'd trifles at the door:

I wander'd from the noisy town,
I found a wood with thorny boughs:
I took the thorns to bind my brows,
I wore them like a civic crown:

I met with scoffs, I met with scorns
They call'd me in the public squares
They call'd me in the public squares
The fool that wears a crown of thorns:

They call'd me fool, they call'd me child:
I found an angel of the night;
The voice was low, the look was bright;
He look'd upon my crown and smiled:

He reach'd the glory of a hand,
That seem'd to touch it into leaf:
The voice was not the voice of grief,
The words were hard to understand.

And then again, at Section lxxxiii, when he is listening to the singing of a bird, which "rings Eden through the budded quicks," the glory of God's universe sweeps away his melancholy:

And I—my harp would prelude woe—
I cannot all command the strings;
The glory of the sum of things
Will flash along the chords and go.

There is none of this realization of the glory of character and of a world infused with divine meaning in the philosophy of Fitzgerald. His was not really a philosophy in the strict sense; it was an emotional impressionism, sensitive to the vanity and vexation of spirit always present in the world. "It really gives me pain," he confessed to a friend (Tennyson's brother Frederic, by the way), "to hear you or any one else call me a philosopher, or any good thing of the sort. I am none, never was." And again to another intimate friend, W. F. Pollock: "I have not put away childish things, though a man." And so his kindly outlook on life was as inadequate to handle or solve the tragic problem of evil or the real meaning of glory as the good-humored pipkin of quatrain lxxxviii.

"Why," said another, "Some there are who tell
Of one who threatens he will toss to Hell
The luckless Pots he marred in making—Pish!
He's a Good Fellow, and 'twill all be well."

THE QUESTION OF MIRACLE

EDWIN LEWIS
Drew Theological Seminary

THE person who to-day undertakes an impartial discussion of miracle is quite likely to be classified as either a doctrinaire or an enemy of the faith. He will be placed in the former category by those who dismiss the whole question with an impatient, "Miracles do not happen," and in the latter category by those who settle it with what is often a no less impatient assertion, "Of course miracles happen." No one would deliberately seek to be classified in either way—there can be little real satisfaction in being described as a "moss-back," and even less in being described as "a destructive critic." Perhaps, however, in the interest of those who might welcome a frank discussion, it is worth while to run the risk of the classification.

It is no longer possible to settle the question by the proof or denial of the trustworthiness of ancient documents, or by the proof or denial of the veracity of human testimony. What is of infinitely more importance than controversy over the credibility of a given event is the attainment of a general world-view which makes an *a priori* provision for miracle. Without such provision all the documentary and other testimony that was ever assembled will fail to produce conviction. If it be said that this is to beg the question at the outset, the reply is obvious: it is no more a begging of the question to construct a world-view which makes miracle *a priori* possible than it is to construct a world-view which makes it *a priori* impossible. Indeed, it is less so, for it can be shown that there are facts which simply compel a world-view which allows for miracle, and this carries with it an implied charge of inadequacy against the philosophy which ignores those facts. This discussion rests therefore without any apology on the Christian view of God and the world. It makes a frank denial of the sufficiency of any philosophy—materialistic, naturalistic, idealistic—which

qualifies itself with the use of the term "absolute" in such a sense as to identify God and things, or to make things essential to God's completeness, or to exhaust God's total power in any given activity, or to make God wholly the slave of his own order. Our point of view is that of God's purpose in the world, and what that purpose requires for its realization. The main elements in the problem are four: the view of God, the view of nature, the view of law, and the view of God's purpose. It is upon these that the very idea of miracle depends. The Christian philosophy requires that we shall conceive God as the all-sufficient Father who seeks to bring every man into the perfect filial relation; that we shall conceive nature as the system of conditions determined solely with reference to God's purpose; and that we shall conceive law as those uniformities of divine activity which in their totality constitute nature and which therefore are equally to be referred to a divine "end."

I. God's Gracious Purpose

It might seem to savor of presumption to ask the question, "Why did God make men?" and then to proceed to answer it. It is just the peculiarity of Christianity that it offers a positive answer to this question which elsewhere has received all too often a negative reply. In the Christian view, God has made men for his eternal companionship. The degree in which fellowship with him becomes possible is determined solely by the degree in which men become like him in moral quality. They are able to know more of him according as they become more like him. Hence, if we keep close to the Christian interpretation, the ultimate ethical and spiritual ideal is seen to be that every man shall freely make his own will in all its expression identical with the absolute will of God. But when we ask what may be the relation of this purpose to "the natural order," we are conscious of a feeling of perplexity. Defining "the natural order" as the whole system of the observed uniformities of phenomenal behavior, and grounding those uniformities in the divine will, we are forced to the confession that the natural order does not clearly indicate that God's purpose is what it has been said to be. We must say even more: it does not clearly

indicate even the fact of a God who is capable of having such a purpose. The conclusion we arrive at therefore is that if there is a purpose in the Christian sense, the natural order cannot secure it automatically, but can at the most only provide the conditions under which the realization may take place. We ask further that there shall be sufficient evidence to faith that God's purpose really is such as has been described, and that there shall be sufficient evidence that this purpose is actually in process of realization here and now. As to this second demand, there need be no dispute that moral and religious history is simply the story of how free spirits have *compelled* the natural order to minister to the realization of that which it does not itself reveal or contain. The crucial place is with the first demand—the demand for sufficient evidence. This thesis is therefore presented: The views set forth as to God, nature, and law, described as the Christian views, depend for their truth on the reality of miracle in the sense later to be explained; if miracle be denied, these also are denied; and if miracle be established, these also are established. It is clear then what the point of view is from which we approach the question. It is that miracle, whether of the Bible or of religious experience generally, is to be considered in the light of the exigencies of God's gracious purpose with men. As intimated above, a naturalistic theory of human nature and destiny makes miracle entirely incredible both because it lacks a sufficient reason and because the very view of the world precludes it. But a theory that does justice to all the facts posits the reality of a divine purpose of grace which not only makes miracle every way credible but makes it even a necessity.

II. Miracle in the Old Testament

Here it is possible to say a number of things which simplify the problem considerably. Nothing that is really vital is lost if the plagues which afflicted Egypt are regarded as ordinary events interpreted by a later age in the light of the results to which the events led; or if the stories connected with Elijah and Elisha are explained as due to the gradual idealizing of popular national heroes; or if the book of Jonah is accepted as allegory rather than as matter-of-fact history; or if one accepts the theory that the book

of Daniel is a late apocalyptic writing designed not so much to relate facts as to strengthen faith in a time of persecution, and aiming to do this by means of a familiar literary device, namely, attaching to some historical character stories of supernatural experiences and deliverances. To say this relieves the student of unnecessary pressure, while it is still possible for him to retain the presence of miracle in the Old Testament. He may retain it by insisting that there were particular events in which men were overwhelmingly conscious of the special presence and the special action of God; and he may retain it by insisting that the proper character be allowed to the whole history of Israel and the prophetic interpretation of it.

For if one asks what is the greatest miracle of the Old Testament, one can only answer: Not this or that particular event, but the whole movement of which the Old Testament is the historic record. What, after all, lies at the basis of the Old Testament but this: *a movement* going on in Israel directly connected with God's purpose for men; a movement which the ordinary course of events seemed often to deny and to defeat; and a movement which the faith of a few saw was most truly assisted by the very things that seemed to oppose and contradict it. Take out of the Old Testament all that is connected with this movement, and there would be nothing left. This book exists because something else existed—a life, a movement, an experience, a faith. What needs to be explained is not so much the Old Testament as that because of which the Old Testament came to be. What we have is, on the one hand, the experience of Israel as a nation among the nations. This is what shows on the surface. On the other hand, we have a movement which was not on the surface, and which because it was not, only faith could discern and foster. Take, for example, the fall of Jerusalem before Nebuchadrezzar. It was one thing as a fact of history, and as such it had ramifications with the history of Egypt and of Babylonia. But it was quite another thing as interpreted by the prophet Jeremiah. This is not to say that the two things were independent, but rather that the historical fact was the condition on which the potential spiritual movement turned. Now occasionally the necessary transcendent factor

seemed to emerge in an especially striking way. Men called this a wonder, or a sign. It is commonly believed that historical and scientific criticism has been fatal to this idea. But the simple truth is that the possibility that these signs and wonders were explicable on "natural" ground in nowise disposes of the question. The special character of a progressing spiritual movement impinging on the experience of Israel does not depend on the historicity of this or that alleged event, and is therefore not destroyed if the event be explained away. The credibility of the particular event is largely a question of literary criticism and personal bias. But the progressive movement was one which affected the life of nations, which determined the course of history, which is still operative in the world, and which can no more be denied as to its reality than can the literary and artistic history of Greece, or the political history and influence of Rome.

Here then are three crucial facts yielded by the Old Testament which criticism cannot touch: first, that in and by means of the "ordinary" life of individuals and of the nation, a certain spiritual movement was going forward, and between the two was a relation of reciprocity; second, that that movement was expressive of God's gracious purpose to establish a kingdom consisting fundamentally in fellowship between himself and men; and third, that there were men who believed that their faith in this transcendent factor was sometimes confirmed by wholly unmistakable evidence.

III. Miracle in the Gospels

Here again we have to remind ourselves of our standpoint. It is possible, of course, to adopt a purely naturalistic hypothesis, and to discount as myth, tradition, superstition, or even pure fiction everything that does not fail to be explained by the hypothesis. But there is another standpoint possible. We may believe that Christian history has some significance. We may believe that human need has some significance. We may believe that individual Christian experience has some significance. Because we take this standpoint we are not thereby precluded from accepting the results of sane and reverent Christian criticism. Neither are we

precluded from denying outright the account of any particular miracle, if we feel that the circumstances call for that. But it is here as it is with the Old Testament: We cannot get rid of the miraculous in the Gospels merely by exscinding some or even all of the particular miracles. What we are justified in saying is that Christ, in his person, message, and work, is to be explained as directly associated with a divine movement and a divine purpose other than that revealed in the natural order; that this conviction is not invalidated by doubt as to the historicity of a particular miracle, for example, changing water to wine; that Christ himself therefore is the supreme miracle *in this sense,* that he stands as the final and indubitable evidence to a great spiritual reality which lies around us and is working for us, but which is apprehensible only to faith; and that so long as criticism leaves us the main lineaments of the portrait of Christ, faith will continue to attest with complete confidence the reality of a supernatural world.

But if this much is secure, there is no good reason why we may not go on and secure more. If Christ's *Person* has this significance, then there is nothing unreasonable in the expectation that there will be connected with him events having a like significance. That is to say, there is an *a priori* assumption of congruity between the Person in himself considered and the actions of this Person. We may be skeptical of this or that detail. But what we cannot be skeptical of is that which is written all across the face of the record. We can hardly deny that Christ made such a profound impression upon those who knew him that they could not explain him by anything within their previous knowledge and experience. We can hardly deny that Christ's own consciousness of himself was in perfect agreement with the impression that he created. And we can hardly deny that this impression was deepened by his doing things which others believed were due to a power which appeared the direct gift of God. In a word, not only is a unique significance ascribed to Christ in his Person, but a like significance is ascribed to certain things that he did or of which he was the subject. Both he himself and things he did were regarded—and may still be so regarded—as the witness to faith of a reality which is not exhausted in the ordinary course of

events, but which by means of those events is moving forward through successive victories to a supramundane goal.

What may be called the positions of faith may therefore be summarized as follows: (1) God has a gracious spiritual purpose with men. (2) The natural order does not reveal that purpose, but seems often to challenge or even to deny it. (3) This purpose is nevertheless being steadily carried through in the experience of men. (4) The particular though by no means the exclusive evidence to this purpose is in the Old and New Testaments. (5) Whatever may be said about this or that alleged miracle of the Bible, the spiritual movement and the purpose of it, especially as illustrated in the Person of Christ and the impression he made upon men, remain as the conspicuous thing in the record.

IV. What Is Miracle?

Such positions as these, as was said before, require a certain view as to the world and its relation to God. In particular there is raised the question of causation. The world is to be viewed as the scene of God's immanent activity, but in such a way as not to exclude the possibility and the fact of his transcendence. The laws of nature then appear as the habitual but not the exhaustive modes of the divine activity. Uniformity, being after all only an induction from experience and nothing *a priori,* is no longer to be regarded as absolute. From this point of view, causality comes to be regarded as divine volition functioning through prescribed conditions, these conditions being in their turn similarly explained.

Anyone who undertakes to define miracle even in view of what has just been said, will probably regard his definition as only tentative. It should be frankly recognized that it is no longer possible to define miracle in terms of the "suspension" or the "violation" of law. The modern mind, condemn it as we will, utterly repudiates the notion of any kind of hiatus in the operation of the cosmic energy. Apologists have too often put themselves at an initial disadvantage in trying to defend an impossible idea. There is no disposition here to do anything except find an adequate explanation for the total data. The suggested definition concerns miracle in what may be called its causal, religious, and

absolute aspects respectively. Thus: *Causally,* a miracle is the functioning of the divine will through an assemblage of conditions such as are not provided for in the uniformities known to prevail to produce conditions of causation. *Religiously* (the term is awkward, but unavoidable), a miracle is an event inexplicable to the observer on any other ground than that it is an unusual act of God expressly designed to further his gracious purpose by the confirmation and the increase of the observer's faith. *Absolutely,* a miracle is an event in which there is an exact concurrence of the unusual causal activity and the religious interpretation. As to the causal aspect: there is by the definition the fullest provision for the need of adequate causation. There is no violation even of observed uniformity. All that uniformity means is that under similar conditions we may expect similar results. What is being emphasized here is the *new and unique condition.* The only limitations on causality that we know anything about are provided by the conditions. We have but to suppose a unique condition to exist, and there will go with it a unique result. As to the religious aspect, there need be no hesitation in affirming that many events which were miracle to religious faith were not so absolutely. By the definition, that is not a miracle in the absolute sense where the total conditions were already provided for in God's immanent activity, that is, in the uniformities of things. As to the absolute aspect, the important thing here is the satisfaction of both the subjective requirement (religious faith) and the objective requirement (adequate cause). Suppose we apply the principle to one of Jesus's healing miracles. Two facts are held to be necessary: causality functioning through unique conditions; faith seeing in the event the evidence of God's gracious purpose. Now Jesus never claimed that the miracle was done solely from himself. He always ascribed the power to the Father. In keeping with our definitions, this would seem to indicate that among the conditions through which causality functioned, that is, through which the divine volition was exerted, was *Jesus himself.* The question is a fair one: if God's action is conditioned on the instrument, who shall say what God cannot do when one of the instruments is such a Person as Jesus Christ? An illustration may be helpful. We

suppose the case of a man, very ill, and thought to be dying. The attending physician says he can do no more, but suggests the calling in of a great specialist. When the specialist enters the room, what happens? *A change in the conditions under which the illness is being fought.* Assuming that the patient recovers, it may be allowed that it was the specialist who made the recovery possible. That is to say, by a change being brought about in the conditions, the causal power which is incessantly and everywhere operative, but which is dependent on conditions, achieves a result which otherwise would have been impossible.

But here some one repeats the old objection of David Hume: "Miracles are contrary to experience." There is an answer ready: it is never possible to say what is contrary to experience unless we duplicate the conditions in which the asserted event came to pass. What is it but the sheerest kind of unscientific dogmatism to say that a certain event could not be when we have no experience to go by to show whether or not the alleged conditions could have eventuated as they were said to do? If it be said that by means of conditions A, B, C, D, E, there was obtained the result F, and some one questions the result, there is only one thing for him to do. He must assemble the alleged conditions, and if F does not result, his doubt is vindicated. But if he cannot assemble those conditions, then his refusal to believe is unscientific, *unless* (and this concession is made most freely) it can be shown either that the alleged conditions were in themselves impossible or that the alleged result was susceptible of another explanation. In any event, the presence of such a Person as Jesus Christ as one of the conditions to a miracle of healing meets the causal requirement. But it does more. It meets the religious requirement as well, and it does this for several reasons. It does it because the presence of such a Person as Jesus Christ is associated with God's gracious purpose to make himself known to men, and to win men to himself; because faith is present which, through the event, becomes more confident of God's love and grace; and because the very disease that seemed to deny God's goodness becomes a means whereby that goodness is revealed. And it is significant in this connection that unbelief always served as a check on Christ's mighty works, and

that there were some whom these works only angered. "He casteth out demons by the prince of demons." Jesus's reply should be well pondered. He said that the deed was not done to arouse wonder or to satisfy curiosity; that its real significance was in connection with the whole purpose of his mission; and that the refusal to ascribe to God a deed so wholly like God was proof of an unchangeable hardness of heart. Briefly, then, an event which appears to satisfy the causal requirement became miracle in the absolute sense only through the activity of religious faith.

The conclusions, therefore, are these four: (1) There is no *a priori* philosophical impossibility in the idea of miracle. (2) From the standpoint of the needs of faith there is every reason for expecting miracle. (3) The evidence to the particular miracles of the Scriptures, being literary, is necessarily open to challege; but the inner history of Israel with its supreme blossoming in the fact of Christ and his absolute moral significance rests upon a much wider foundation, and is itself faith's sufficient support and attestation. (4) Only as that to which miracle is alleged to testify is real is faith itself capable of justification. And without faith who shall live?

INVISIBLE ASSETS OF INDUSTRY

Lucius H. Bugbee

Minneapolis, Minn.

At the beginning of this year, when so many were busily appraising the physical values of plants and products, would it have been inappropriate to suggest that our greatest assets cannot be tabulated or their value estimated in figures? Shrewd, hard-headed, practical men are likely to feel, when intangible values are mentioned, as that couplet from Faust suggests:

> Now we're in the realm, I ween,
> Of enchantment and of dream.

Yet we are all more or less conscious of the fact that we live on the border of two worlds. We are like the curious little insects that I used to see as a boy, skimming along the surface of stagnant pools in the summer time. The naturalist tells us they have two sets of eyes. One pair look down into the watery world of pebbly beach and sandy bottom beneath them. The other pair look up into the world of waving grass and singing birds and blue sky bending over all. We are like that. We live on the border of two worlds which we variously name the ideal and the real, the theoretical and the practical, the spiritual and material, the world of thought and the world of action. On the one hand we are related to food and drink, houses and lands, tools and machinery, and all other visible, tangible values. On the other hand we are related to thoughts, emotions, volitions, ideals and principles. That individual is only half equipped for life and work who is responsive to only one of these realms. He needs the power of perception in both if he is to make the best use of his own faculties and powers as well as the forces of nature and society.

Some of us believe with increasing conviction that the most valuable assets of life are in the realm of the invisible and that the next progressive step which humanity is likely to take will

be the intelligent mastery of the laws of mental and spiritual action, as in some measure we have already mastered the laws of physical action. There is a vast framework of spiritual facts and forces which underlies all we touch and taste and see and hear.

What contributes in the largest degree to the permanence and success of great industries? Is it the physical properties which have been accumulated? Is it the capital involved? These are certainly very necessary. But something else is necessary also. It is an invisible element. We are accustomed to call it credit or confidence or reputation or good will. Without it permanence and stability will be lacking. Without it physical plants and equipment may even become liabilities rather than assets.

What is it that gives strength and substance to the life of a nation? Is it merely our natural resources; our mines, fields, forests, our system of transportation, our great cities smoking with industry? These are certainly assets, but there must be something more intangible back of these physical values, something that will give tone and character to the nation's life—principles of freedom, deeds of justice and integrity. Without these no nation is strong or great. Indeed, it is one of the noblest mysteries of life, which always fills me with reverence, that men will spend years in accumulating material wealth and treasure, enriching themselves and their country with increasing physical values, and then in a crucial moment, when the invisible values, which they carry in their hearts, are in peril, they will gladly sacrifice everything else for the sake of these intangible principles of freedom, justice, and truth.

Under ordinary conditions we may live as if we were materialists, but in the supreme hours of life at least we are idealists. True we live by means of food and drink, houses and lands, silver and gold, stocks and bonds; but we live in and through none of these things. We live in and through the loves and hopes and faiths of our hearts. In the last analysis we could do without bread or iron or steel or any other material commodity, better than we can do without sympathy, confidence, friendship, and hope.

All thoughtful leaders of public opinion recognize the truth of these statements. Former Secretary Lane remarked the other day that "We have greater resources than the mere continent itself. Our largest assets are our people and our institutions. The breed of men that we have, their attitude toward life and each other, is more important than the number of our acres and the greatness of our industries."

Once upon a time, so the story runs, there was a fanatic in Boston who thought he had a revelation that the end of all things was at hand. He hurried out to Concord, under the impression that he must announce this matter to Mr. Emerson. The seer of Concord was busy at his desk in the study. His visitor burst open the door without ceremony. "Mr. Emerson," he cried, "I have a revelation that the world is coming to an end this very night." Emerson slowly lifted his head from his manuscript and remarked quietly: "Well, we can get on very well without it." It was the instinctive reply of a man who lived so largely in the realm of ideas and thoughts that material values did not much concern him.

The industrial aspect of this matter could not be better expressed than in the casual remark of a business man concerning two acquaintances: "I would rather have Jones's credit," he said, "than Brown's wealth." That invisible thing called credit, which is based more upon inward worth of character than upon outward accumulation of money, is of more value to any individual or enterprise than the mere possession of physical wealth.

Now it is as difficult to define these invisible assets as it is to analyze the perfume of a flower or the beauty of a star. There are, however, certain general terms which will indicate the nature of what we mean and help us to visualize before the eyes of the mind that which cannot be apprehended by the senses of the body.

As a young man I lived for a brief time in the family of a good physician. As his health was failing and his years multiplying, he decided to retire from active practice. He sold his office and other physical equipment for a certain amount and added an amount for his *good will.* Being a young man of a practical

turn of mind, I wondered how a concrete value could be attached to any man's good will. But the young physician who bought out the practice was not long in discovering the significance of this invisible value, for the doctor was loved and trusted throughout the entire county where he practiced; and his constituents, who otherwise might have hesitated to commit themselves to the care of a strange physician, were quite willing to accept anyone whom the older doctor recommended as his successor. The good will of the older man, if the younger man continued to merit it, meant for him the possession at once of a medical practice which otherwise could only have been the product of years of faithful service.

Good will is an inward *attitude of life* which wills only good and means only well toward others. When old Nicola, the housemaid in Zona Gale's story, tells us that as Christmas approached she was very careful not to worry the ragman or the ashman; that she saved the bones for the next hungry dog that might appear; and every morning scattered the crumbs on the back fence that the birds might have their daily feast; and how on Christmas Eve she gathered together all the delicacies and flowers that were in the house and carried them to the nearest hospital that the sick folks might have some Christmas cheer, she was giving us a practical demonstration of what good will may be.

It is the *spirit* that claims the right to triumph over all the relationships of life. Not only the more intimate and personal ones which bind us together in the family or the firm or in our own social circle, but also those more universal relationships which bind us together in the great community of human interests, uniting us to the postman who brings the letter to the office door, the tradesman who brings the goods to our table, the chauffeur who drives our car, the engineer in his cab, the switchman in his tower, the mechanic in the shop, the puddler at the furnace, and that vast army of men and women upon whose faithfulness depends the permanence and security of society.

Good will is a spirit which claims the right to triumph over every selfish interest. It means that no man can have anything or be anything which does not in some measure belong to all men or is not in some way necessary to the welfare of all. Labor

is necessary to capital and capital is necessary to labor. They belong to each other, for the producing life of the world is a unity and no man or group of men can do a more suicidal thing than take the gifts which life has given them, whether they be wealth, leadership, skill or strength, and go apart to waste them on themselves.

Such a spirit in industry is equivalent to what military men are accustomed to call the morale of the army. It is made up of pride in the unit, devotion to one's fellows, and loyalty to a common cause. It is an invaluable asset in any organization. The spirit of good will between management and labor is bound to create a loyalty and devotion which cannot be produced by any routine of organization or shop discipline.

To create such a spirit of mutual confidence and loyalty in an industry; its organization, its customers, its stockholders, and the community in which its plants are located, will contribute more than anything else to permanence, progress, and profit.

But such good will must be *genuine* if it is to be effective. There is an artificial attitude of mind which may be cultivated for the sake of policy, expressing itself in various mechanical welfare agencies. These are sometimes the result of a belated effort to appease unrest and dissatisfaction, or to meet emergencies. They cannot be other than they really are—mere makeshifts of good will. They create suspicion and contempt in the minds of those who are supposed to benefit thereby and who do not wish to be patronized by any agency which savors of manufactured sympathy or philanthropy. Genuine good will can exist only between those whose mutual self-respect is preserved. It is just here that many betterment plans and agencies for industrial welfare fail of accomplishment.

The main thing is that good will in order to be effective must be a sincere outpouring of human sympathy and an honest effort to realize the prayer of Robert Burns:

> Then let us pray that come it may
> And come it will for a' that,
> That man to man the world o'er
> Shall brothers be and a' that.

The *creative instinct* is another invisible asset of industry. It is fundamental in human nature. Any normal child will frequently turn away from all the painted products of the toy shop which you may bring to him and, going into the cellar or the back yard, he will gather together the ragged ends of boards and bits of string and rusty nails and then turning upon this mass of rubbish the force of his own ingenuity, he will create something—a boat, a mill, a play house. He works at it with no thought of reward save the pure fun of doing the thing. And with what pride and joy will he display the product of his creative genius!

Now "men are only boys grown tall." A *real* workman who is creating something does not think overmuch about wages or hours, because his chief satisfaction is in the joy of doing. "A real leader of industry seldom finds any particular pleasure in the money he earns. The money earned is only the score of the game. The real fun is in doing things," and in finding larger expression through his activities.

A man ought to live in his work, not merely in the usual sense that his work will commemorate him, but also in the sense that his work will express him. It will become a channel through which his personality will more fully realize itself. This is one reason, I suppose, that we cherish the flint spearhead, the broken bit of pottery or the rude stone implement of an early age, because in these products of primitive ingenuity we can discover something of the skill and genius of the pre-historic workman who toiled on them long ago. It is this which gives significance to every real work of art. Every patch of color on the canvas unveils an artist's soul; every line chiseled in the marble reveals the spirit of a sculptor. There is in the work of every great artist, author, composer, architect, a distinctive and individual manner so marked as to identify the man whenever and wherever his work appears. It has been said that "if a statue of Phidias were to be found without any mark of the sculptor upon it, there would be no delay in identifying it."

Indeed in this higher kind of human product no one cares anything for mere colorless, impersonal work. It is only as it reveals the man who thinks and works that we become deeply

interested in it. Now the higher the kind and quality of a man's work, the greater the opportunity for this self-expression. But even in the most elemental forms of work, there ought to be some chance for the expression of this creative instinct. A very keen student of industrial conditions in America, Samuel Crowther, has declared that "Back of every wage dispute, back of every labor difficulty, lies some kind of a suppression or distortion of this creative instinct." In the old days before the time of machinery and complex industrial organization, it was much more possible for the average man to live in his work. The work of the village carpenter or shoe-maker bore the stamp of his own craftmanship. It was known throughout the community as his product. He felt pride in making it an expression of his best skill. He was interested not only in the price it would bring—that was often secondary with him—but in the quality of what he turned out.

Now, however, there is too little chance for the average workman to express himself in industry, and he naturally feels cramped and suppressed. The whole process has become so complex and mechanical that the workman is lost in the machine. He feels himself a tool rather than a man. The conditions of his task do not arouse enthusiasm for good work. He has no pride in his product. He finds no joy in creative effort. He works merely for wages, which will always be unsatisfactory no matter how much they are raised or the hours of labor reduced, because they form the only reward of his expressionless routine. It is as true of one class of men as another that we cannot live by bread alone.

All the blame for this condition of things cannot be laid at one door. Capital may well bear a large share of it. In its haste to increase profits, it has not encouraged traditions of good workmanship. Quantity rather than quality has been too often its acknowledged goal. "Speeding up" processes have only intensified the mechanical nature of the whole inhuman procedure, until the workman is indeed lost in the machine.

Labor also has pursued a mistaken policy in this matter. It has meant well enough, but its leaders have been fearfully

blind. They have discouraged ambition and individual initiative, and have allowed the creative instinct to be buried under a mass of union rules and regulations. The whole Labor Union movement has become intensely casuistic and legalistic. Life and work are intolerably burdensome under such conditions. Spontaneity and joy cease. The routine of the System binds like a chain.

Is it not true that when you find an industry where there has been created an ideal of good workmanship rather than large profits only, there you are likely to find an unusual measure of industrial peace? Is it not worth while to attempt at least to create in any such establishment an attitude of mind which will encourage the largest possible self-expression on the part of the individual workman? Of course the old personal relation of master and workman has been destroyed by the complexity of the present industrial age, but I believe sufficiently in the resourcefulness of the American people to feel that we shall invent the economic machinery by which thousands of men will regain a sense of personal interest in the establishment with which they are working. The same qualities of mind which have produced so many original tools and machines, will ultimately produce a method by which large numbers of men can be coordinated with a full measure of self-respect and with a real opportunity for self-expression.

The spirit of Faith is a very important asset of industry. I use faith in the same sense in which it would be used in the office or on the street. It is our capacity for confidence, our power of belief in men, in ideas, or in movements. It is the ruling quality in all successful enterprises. The man who has the power of seeing things great when they are still small is gifted with the genius of leadership. It is the venturesome daring of such faith that constitutes the nerve of all progress. The man of faith believes in himself and in his power to accomplish a given task. He believes also in his fellow men and wherever he goes he creates a foundation of confidence which is contagious. Men can accomplish far more under the stimulus of his trust in them than they can under the driving leadership of a boss. The largest

amount of production is not always secured by speeding up processes of industry. It is very frequently the result of this spirit of mutual confidence in an organization.

The man of faith also believes in a well-ordered universe. To him the world is not an old hulk, driven on against the rocks with no hand upon the tiller to direct its course; but it is a trimmed vessel with a wise captain on the quarterdeck who knows where he is going and will bring his craft safely into port. Zola, in one of his stories, draws a vivid picture of a railroad train dashing into the night and the storm. It is crowded with soldiers, but the engineer and fireman, fighting out a bitter feud, are both flung from the cab and there is no hand on the throttle. The world is a train and we are the passengers therein. We are going somewhere into the unknown. The man of faith, however, believes that the engineer is not dead. His hand is steadily at the throttle. That sort of confidence in the essential decency and order of things gives steadiness and strength and poise to any life and any enterprise.

May I add in conclusion that the spirit of hope and optimism, which is closely related to faith, is as certain an asset in industry as it is in individual living. This mystical hankering for something higher; this instinctive conviction that it is better farther on is natural with most of us. To my mind one of the strongest arguments against the truth of a materialistic philosophy of life, which sees in matter and force the *be-all* and the *end-all,* is the fact that it does not fit in to the instinctive buoyancy of human nature. A French materialist has told this story on himself. He one day went to visit an aged relative who was confined in a public institution. He found her saddened and depressed. As he was walking with her through the gardens, he tried to think of something that he might say to comfort her. He could not offer her youth or friends again. There was nothing in his materialistic thought of life which had the least suggestion of consolation. Suddenly the chaplain of the institution crossed their path and catching the downcast eye of the weeping woman he simply pointed upward. Instantly her face was radiant with the suggestion of this hope. By a simple gesture of the hand the idealist had done

more for the encouragement of this poor soul than all the arguments which the materialist had to offer.

Our American life and industry is full of the spirit of this hope. We have still vast undeveloped resources and unimagined opportunities of working out a new and better order of society in which the largest fruitage of justice and prosperity may be realized. It will be worth while in every way to encourage this spirit of romance and noble adventure and high achievement, which will make every honest enterprise alluring in its possibilities.

There is no mechanical way out of the present difficulties which beset our ways in society, in industry and in government. No new or fantastic order of society, no matter by whom conceived, can bring us permanent relief. Of schemes and plans we have too many now. Changes and readjustments in the social and political and industrial order may be necessary, but the final way out is along the lines which are here indicated. It is a new inward attitude toward one another, a new spirit in industry and in public life, a new emphasis upon the invisible and eternal values of existence. We must not let the vision go, for "where there is no vision the people perish."

STEEL AND MEN[1]

JAMES C. BAKER
Urbana, Ill.

THE only adequate description of the recent war was "The Great War." So, among labor disturbances in our American history, the steel strike of 1919 must be described as "The Great Strike." Because of its magnitude and far-reaching significance, it should be studied carefully by every thoughtful American.

Fortunately, the literature in this field is increasing. One may well find the background for his study in Professor Robinson's thorough-going and exhaustive narrative of the purpose, history, organization, and government of The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. There is little or no illumination of the pages through human incidents, but it is a valuable and scholarly account of the fortunes of the trade union movement in this group—a movement which had its beginnings about forty years ago in a combination of the various organized labor forces of the iron and steel mills of this country. There have been three big strikes in the history of the organization before The Great Strike and in each the workers were defeated. Consequently the organization had become very weak in the East, although it was fairly effective in the West.

In a preliminary survey of the situation before 1919, it is well also to read John Fitch's The Steel Workers, which was published in 1910 by the Russell Sage Foundation.

The story is carried on in The Great Steel Strike and its Lessons by William Z. Foster, the secretary and organizer of the steel workers preparatory to the 1919 strike, and the man responsible for the management throughout of The Great Strike. It is an amazingly well told story, showing the methods used in developing a remarkable organization among workers especially difficult

[1] Interchurch World Movement Report on the Steel Strike of 1919. Bishop F. J. McConnell and others. Harcourt & Brace.

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Jesse S. Robinson. Johns Hopkins University Studies.

The Great Steel Strike. William Z. Foster. Huebsch.

Men and Steel. Mary Heaton Vorse. Boni & Liveright.

to organize. The style is vivid and picturesque. The reader is compelled to realize the almost insuperable obstacles encountered and to enter sympathetically into the crises of the struggle. It is a fascinating tale, from the inside, of the greatest labor battle of our history.

Mr. Foster's story is not that of a "radical." It supports in a convincing fashion the assertion of the Interchurch Commission that the cry against the great strike that it was a "Bolshevist conspiracy," was the "red herring" to throw the American public off the trail of a real understanding of the issues involved. The book is written without heat or bitterness. It is marked by an even temper and an unusual balance for a story of this sort. In a straightforward manner the author unfolds the plans and progress of the campaign so that one sees in striking fashion the inside work of the labor leaders.

But the most important book published to date on The Great Strike is The Interchurch World Movement Report on the Steel Strike of 1919, presented by Bishop Francis J. McConnell and his able committee. It is not only the most important book on The Great Strike, but one of the most important and far-reaching labor documents that has ever been published.

The Interchurch Report is an exceptionally thorough and conservative piece of work. It impresses one with its downright sincerity, closeness to the facts, and sanity of judgment. The specialist in this field pays his tribute to the soundness of its scientific method and its well-tempered conclusions, while the ordinary reader bows to its compelling moral vision. It is shot through and through with a realization of the human meanings of industry. It is more than a powerful, economic document. It is a plea for the guidance of industrial relationships by moral values and a Christian conscience.

A report of so great importance to our American democracy cannot be disregarded. The United States Steel Corporation succeeded in misleading public opinion during the progress of the strike, but its methods and practices will not stand the light of day which the Interchurch Commission now throws upon them. The Corporation must stand before the bar of an awakening Chris-

tian conscience which will insist on putting *life* before profits, and will measure the conduct of business by the human values which it conserves. The editor of The Christian Advocate spoke to the point when he said in reviewing the report: "One thing is certain, if the Corporation cannot clear itself, it will have to clean house." And it seems evident that "house-cleaning" is the only alternative left, when this Corporation imagines that it can "clear itself" by circulating broadcast throughout the country such an evasive, inept, and futile statement as the Reverend E. Victor Bigelow's Mistakes of the Interchurch Steel Report. That Judge Gary and his associates can be so filled with admiration, as the Judge says, for this "splendid address" that they wish to have it "printed and widely circulated," especially among the clergy, shows at once how hard pressed they are for an answer, and how easily they think they will be able to mislead public opinion again. But, in the long run, facts are hard things to deal with in any other than a direct and honest way. And the clear-cut conclusions of the Interchurch Report are soundly based upon facts which have not been denied.

The writer wishes to record five main impressions gained from a careful study of the Interchurch Report.

First: The Report reveals a woeful lack of accurate information to guide properly our judgment in great industrial crises.

Our attention is called to the fact that neither the public, nor the government, nor the United States Steel Corporation itself, possesses adequate means of ascertaining the truth about this great industry, its hours, its wages, the workers, and the conditions under which the workers live. Neither has organized labor understood the business of gathering facts about this, or any industry, nor the advisability of presenting such facts to the public.

The Christian conscience again and again fails to operate effectively because of this lack of definite knowledge. "My people perish for lack of knowledge," said the old prophet, and his prophetic word is still true. The Interchurch Report enforces upon us the fundamental importance of organizing research to discover and make known the facts for the more effective guidance of ethical passion and good will.

We need to bear in mind the wise words of the English labor party: "The problems of the world cannot be solved by Good Will alone. Good Will without knowledge is Warmth without Light. Especially in all the complexities of politics, in the still undeveloped Science of Society, the Labor Party stands for increased study, for the scientific investigation of each succeeding problem, for the deliberate organization of research, and for a much more rapid dissemination among the whole people of all the science that exists."

Second: One is appalled that in this day and age any great corporation can be as absolutely autocratic and arbitrary in its attitude and management as the United States Steel Corporation, and still have any standing before the bar of public opinion. Claiming the privilege of one of the most highly developed organizations ever known, it denies the same privilege to labor. It is rightly defined as a "no-conference industry," refusing to discuss with its workers any of their vital concerns such as hours, wages, or living conditions. Mr. Gary said before the Senate Committee: "It is my policy and the policy of the Corporation not to deal with union labor leaders at any time." At the same time, he said: "Of course workmen have a right to belong to unions." Of what use, however, would it be for workers to become members of unions, if the employers would not deal with unions? Further it was the policy of the Corporation to discharge summarily those who exercised the hypothetical "right to belong to unions."

William Henry Baldwin, Jr., the railroad president, used to say that he needed the union among his workers as much as they needed it, in order to help him to understand them and to safeguard him against doing them injustice.

Nothing can be more serious than for the workers in a great industry to be utterly dependent upon their employers, with no chance to speak in an effective manner for themselves. The Federal Council of Churches in its social creed (recently adopted also by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association) affirms "that an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and sharing of shop control and

management are inevitable steps in its attainment." Men like Mr. John D. Rockefeller support this affirmation, insisting that labor and capital are partners, and that under our modern conditions "The organization of labor has quite as important a function to perform as the organization of capital"; and the Methodist Board of Bishops in 1919 said: "We favor collective bargaining as an instrument for the attainment of social justice and for training in democratic procedure."

There is an ironic interest in a story told by the great steel master, Andrew Carnegie, in his recently published autobiography: "Dreadful days came when my father took the last of his webs to the great manufacturer, and I saw my mother anxiously awaiting his return to know whether a new web was to be obtained or that a period of idleness was upon us. It was burnt into my heart then that my father, though neither 'abject, mean, or vile,' as Burns has it, had nevertheless to

> "Beg a brother of the earth
> To give him leave to toil."

Yet here is the great steel industry, from which Andrew Carnegie drew his vast funds, autocratically compelling hundreds of thousands of men and women to beg a brother of the earth to give them leave to toil, with no chance to confer on hours, wages, or living conditions.

Further, the Steel Corporation so far has maintained its autocratic policy at no matter what cost of injustice and un-American practice. It is a disgrace to any nation that it is possible within its borders for such a spy system and military organization to be maintained in any industry as has been maintained by this Corporation. "Great systems of espionage are an integral part of the anti-union alternative. Spies are integral to warfare. Outside and inside the labor unions these 'operatives' spied, secretly denounced, engineered raids and arrests, and incited to riot."

"During the strike violations of personal rights and personal liberty were wholesale. Men were arrested without warrants, imprisoned without charges, their homes invaded without legal process, magistrates' verdicts were rendered frankly on the basis

of whether the striker would go back to work or not. But even these things would seem to be less a concern to the nation at large, than the degradation, persistent and approved by 'public opinion,' of civil liberties in behalf of private concerns' industrial practices."

Mary Heaton Vorse's Men and Steel is especially valuable as a human document, picturing in vivid language this violation of civil liberties and the rights of assemblage.

THIRD: The Report exhibits the undisputed fact that approximately one half of the employees of the United States Steel Corporation were subject to the twelve-hour day, and that approximately one half of these in turn worked the seven-day week. Much less than one fourth of all these workers had a working day of less than ten hours, though steel jobs are classed as *heavy labor and hazardous.* Schedules of hours for the chief class of steel workers are from twelve to forty hours longer per week than in other basic industries. The American Steel average is over twenty hours longer than the British. Moreover, instead of the number of those working the twelve-hour day decreasing, the percentage has increased since 1910, so that in the steel industry there are more than 400,000 workers, or a population of 2,000,000 men, women, and children, who are more or less affected by this unrestricted tendency toward lengthened hours. Even the Senate Investigating Committee said that the twelve-hour day is "unwise" and "un-American," while the Interchurch Report says, "The twelve-hour day is a barbarism without valid excuse, penalizing the workers and the country. Human beings un-Americanized by the twelve-hour day in such scores of thousands are a stiff price paid by America for the profits of steel companies."

It is sometimes said that the Steel Corporation, while exacting long hours at exhausting and dangerous labor, pays unusual wages. The Interchurch Report shows that, while there are some unusually well paid men, the common laborer receives lower hourly wages than in any of the other four great industries in the same territory. Three fourths of the employees, in spite of the long hours which they work, do not receive enough to live in accordance with minimum American standards of comfort, as these standards have been worked out by the United States Government.

Such are the bare facts. Illuminate them by human incident, and one stands aghast at the social results. Certainly the end of man's life is not servile toil. He must also have opportunity for his home life, for recreation, and for worship. None of these things are possible for the great majority of steel workers.

There can be no home life with the twelve-hour day in an industry of this sort. Home means for the workers rarely more than a place to eat and sleep. "At Johnstown a member of the Commission was approached by a man of middle age who said that he was determined never to go back to work until the question of hours was settled. He gave as his reason that his little daughter had died within the last few months; he said he had never known the child because he was at work whenever she was awake, or else he was asleep, during the day time. He was determined that he would know the other children and for that reason felt that it was imperative that he should have the eight-hour day."

Again, although most of these underpaid and overworked men are of foreign birth, there is little chance for schooling or for developing within them any true understanding and appreciation of American institutions. "Americanization of the steel workers cannot take place while the twelve-hour day persists."

Neither is there opportunity for any religious life with the long-hour day and the seven-day week. This is an exceedingly important aspect of the Report for thoughtful citizens who believe that one day of freedom from the toil of the week is necessary for the development of moral idealism and religion. It is a strange misapprehension of all that is involved that has led some church leaders to confuse the issues raised in this book by crying aloud that if the steel workers are underpaid, so too are the ministers of the church, with the *sequitur* that we should pay first heed to the ministers and cease to talk about the steel workers. We shall never make progress in social righteousness by excusing one injustice because we can point to another.

Fourth: The Report makes perfectly evident the immense power of the United States Steel Corporation in controlling agencies of public opinion. One of the reasons assigned for the defeat

of the strike is "The hostility of the press giving biased and colored news, and the silence of both press and pulpit on the actual question of justice involved; which attitude of press and pulpit helped to break the strikers' morale." An interesting confirmation of the Report's statement concerning the press is to be found in an article, Pittsburgh's Prostituted Press, published in The Nation, January 5, 1921.

After the strike the much quoted Roger Babson circulated throughout the country an editorial beginning "There is no doubt about it—Labor is beaten." A little later in the editorial occur these astounding words, "Now when we (the employing class) have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have learned. *We have the schools. We have the pulpit. The employing class owns the press.* There is practically no important paper in the United States but is theirs."

It is well to have such plain speech to search the hearts and purposes of teachers, editors, and preachers, to see if there be any truth and independence in them. Thank God for the social vision, moral independence, and ethical purpose and passion of many in each of these groups who could be named! All are not craven.

Fifth: The Report adds evidence to the oft-established fact "That the development of large-scale production enterprises under *absentee financial control* tends inevitably to sacrifice the laboring forces in favor of utilizing, to the maximum, the costly machines."

Professor Carleton H. Parker, writing in The Atlantic Monthly on this question of absentee control by a comparatively small group of financiers, makes the statement: "It turns industrial affairs, one of whose major characteristics is the human quality brought by the worker, over to a group of financial minds whose education, environment, and ambitions make it impossible for them to obtain an accurate perspective of the human side of industrial production. The condition is potential for danger."

The test of policies to be adopted is too often not the effect on human personalities, but the accumulation of profits. As a steel master recently said, "We are in favor of the shorter day, *if,* and *only if,* it is good business." We do not believe that this attitude

can be maintained. The day has passed when the conception of industry as chiefly a revenue-producing process can be defended.

Six months after the formulation of their Steel Report, the Interchurch Commission issued an Open Letter to the Public, a part of which may properly conclude this review. Pointing out that the steel industry is drifting toward unrestricted warfare between employer and employee, they say: "Is the nation helpless before conditions in a basic industry which promise future crisis? Can our democratic society be moved to do industrial justice without the pressure of the crisis itself?"

[NOTE.—This searching study by Dr. Baker of one of the supreme industrial issues of to-day is most timely because of the propaganda against collective bargaining, which is a part of the worst reactions of the Great War. The so-called "freedom of contract" which is being urged would be a return to the law of the jungle, for freedom of contract can only exist where there is some equality of advantage. The Great Strike failed and the Interchurch World Movement did not wholly succeed, but the issues are still alive and the Interchurch Report is beginning to bear fruit. Mr. Charles Cabot, a large stockholder of United States Steel, has instituted an industrial research as to the twelve-hour day. As a consequence of the agitation by socially-minded members of that corporation (for many capitalists are human in their outlook), Judge E. H. Gary has tentatively announced the possibility of a change to the plan of three shifts of eight hours each, used in most English and many American steel mills. He states that it will cost $80,000,000 to install it, an estimate which is about four times too high, but even that will not greatly impair its half-billion surplus. The Cabot Bureau of Industrial Research is conducting, under the direction of Dr. Richard C. Cabot, professor of social ethics in Harvard University, a vigorous investigation of the espionage system, with astounding results. It is made too evident that there is a large group of employers who are justifying the Marxian social heresy of class war, and the I. W. W. theory that the wage system itself is a survival of slavery. Nothing but the fullest cooperation of both money and men in controlling the tools of industry on the basis of a spiritual and social democracy can save the present factory system from the disaster of revolutionary methods. When employers think only of profits and workmen only of wages, and both have lost the sense of service and the creative joy, society is drifting backward to barbarism and not marching forward to brotherhood.—EDITOR.]

THE NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PREMILLENNIALISM

Irwin Ross Beiler
Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

"I accept premillennialism because I believe the Bible." These words, often spoken or written, carry very evident implications for those who do not accept the theory. The writer does not propose to discuss the mechanical and unwarranted view of Scripture or the un-Christian conception of God, the world, and his relation to it, upon which this theory rests. That has been too well done by a large number of able writers in this and other lands, not the least among whom are Professors Rall and Sheldon of our own schools. However, there may be some value in putting together briefly some things that have been hinted or written here and there about the biblical basis of this theory. The literalism which underlies premillennialism will render this discussion bootless in some quarters, but there are those who have broken with the theory who are uneasy from fear that the Bible, particularly the New Testament, may be against them.

So far as the Bible is concerned millenarianism rests upon Revelation 20. Beyond that chapter it is propped up by a type of biblical interpretation—an assembling of every phrase or text that can be bent to the desired purpose and a contempt for contexts and historical backgrounds that turns exegesis into guesswork—which has provided us with scriptural defenses of war, slavery, polygamy, witchcraft, the liquor traffic, and military preparedness. This chapter of the book of Revelation is full of poetic imagery which we have often interpreted as prose. That is not all. The work of Seiss, Lange, and Gabelein cannot be compared in scholarship and in insight into the nature and message of the Apocalypse with that of Johannes Weiss, Swete, Moffatt, and Charles; and this latter group of interpreters agree that, to say the least, this chapter in its origin is not Christian. That is to say, Jesus never taught it, so far as our records show, and that much of it can be found in previously existing Egyptian and

Parsee eschatology as well as in Greek and Jewish writings. Revelation 20 is a monument to the eclecticism of early Christianity. For example, such a rule of the Messiah is indicated in the Ethiopic Enoch (91ff.), Psalms of Solomon (11 and 17), Sibylline Oracles (3), Jubilees (23), and 2 Baruch (30). The length of the rule varies and is usually indefinite; 4 Ezra 7. 28 states that it is to be 400 years. R. H. Charles, commenting on the chapter, states that "apparently nowhere in earlier or contemporary literature is the duration of 1,000 years assigned to the Messianic Kingdom save here."[1] Jubilees (4. 30) and the Slavonic Enoch (32. 2 to 33. 2) forecast an interregnum of 1,000 years, but he evidently does not regard them as referring to a Messianic Kingdom. However, it is very difficult to believe that that idea is wanting, if the probable source of these writings is Jewish, even though it may be unexpressed. Their reasoning, apparently, is that since the world was made in six days and since "a thousand years in thy sight are but as a day" (Psa. 90. 4), its history will be completed in 6,000 years. Then just as the seventh was a day of rest, the 6,000 years of history will be followed by a Sabbath of 1,000 years, that is, the millennium. That would be followed by an eighth day in which there would be "neither years nor months nor weeks nor days nor hours," or eternity. Jubilees was written probably early in the first century B. C. and the Slavonic Enoch before 70 A. D. If the author of the Apocalypse was the first to connect this period of 1,000 years with the Messianic Kingdom—highly improbable, in view of the above—he followed hints too obvious to leave him any credit for its origin.

Other parallels to the material of Revelation 20 could be cited and are by the interpreters already named. Space will permit reference to but two or three of them here. From the Egyptian Book of the Dead (IV) Moffatt quotes, "Thine enemy the serpent hath been given over to the fire, the serpent-fiend hath fallen down headlong; his arms have been bound in chains."[2] The imprisonment and the later destruction of the old serpent, Azhi

[1] The Revelation of Saint John ii, *ad loc.*, International Critical Commentary.
[2] The Expositor's Greek Testament, Revelation, *ad loc.*

Dahaka, is told in Parsee or Zoroastrian literature. (Bundehesh iii. 26.) The assault of Satan on heaven and his casting down to earth can be paralleled from the same sources. The bodily resurrection indicated in xx. 13 is a facsimile of the idea given in the Ethiopian Enoch (66. 5) and elsewhere. Those familiar with 4 Ezra and other apocryphal literature can see the picture of the Messianic coming, even to much of its imagery, reflected constantly in the Apocalypse. Nearly all these writings to which allusion has been made are pre-Christian and all are generally admitted to have been written prior to the writing of Revelation. Whence then came these conceptions? Certainly they are not Christian in their origin, however much they may have been held by the primitive Christians. Their genealogical tree shows them not only pre-Christian, but also extra-biblical. That may not dispose of their validity, but it does dispose of their biblical origin.

Professor Case observes that Revelation is the only New Testament book to openly espouse "the contemporary Jewish idea of a millennial interregnum."[3] However, an interregnum under the rule of the Messiah is quite apparently a part of Paul's thought (1 Cor. 15. 23-28). No length of time is indicated, but suppose Paul had the view that Christ was to return to rule for a period. Where did he get it? Evidently Paul had taught the Thessalonians that Christ would soon return and writes them, not only to change conditions that teaching had created, but also, doubtless, to correct his earlier teaching. In seeking a source for that teaching it is well to note, in the first place, that when Paul writes about the coming Lord, he refers again and again to the indwelling Lord whose power is at work in the world to bring in the kingdom of righteousness. This is so much true that Frame says, "it is not easy to tell whether Paul is thinking of the Lord at the right hand of God (Rom. 8. 34) or of the Lord who is in the believers" (Rom. 8. 10).[4] In the second place, that Paul reflects the influence of the non-canonical and other than Christian writings has long been known and much is yet to be written on that subject. For example, the conception that death is a product

[3] The Revelation of John, p. 366.
[4] Thessalonians, p. 25. International Critical Commentary.

of sin is frequently found in Paul (Rom. 5. 12; 1 Cor. 15. 21, and 2 Cor. 11. 3). Otherwise it is not a New Testament idea and is probably lacking in the Old Testament, for Gen. 2. 17 and 3. 19 are ambiguous. It is first found in Ecclus. 25. 24, then in the Book of Wisdom 2. 23f., Ethiopic Enoch xcviii. 4 and Slavonic Enoch xxx. 16. Charles thinks that Paul believed in a plurality of heavens, much as set forth in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the two Enochs. Slavonic Enoch (viii) locates the garden or paradise in the third heaven just as Paul (2 Cor. 12. 2-4). The same idea probably underlies Col. 1. 20 and several Ephesian passages. These conceptions of a plurality of heavens and death as a product of sin the church has sloughed off as part of an outgrown thought-world. That Paul believed them has not troubled her, for she has seen that they are purely accessories and in no wise fundamental or distinctive in his message. This applies with equal force to Paul's premillennial thought. Along with the observation that the parousia was far from central in Paul's teaching, the point of value to be noted in all this is that this view reached him by the same pre-Christian and extra-biblical influences reflected in Revelation 20.

Some may insist that Paul had ample foundation for what he taught about "the coming" in Jesus's own references to it. That is held even though his only appeal to Jesus's authority for the idea, 1 Thess. 4. 15-17, quotes no known word of Jesus and does not even bear the stamp of his spirit. However, there is some basis for believing that Jesus taught he would soon come, presumably for such a purpose as is involved in premillennialism. *a.* He said to his disciples as he was sending them out, "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel till the Son of man be come" (Matt. 10. 23). *b.* He is represented as concluding a discourse one day with the words, "There are some here of them that stand by, who shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power" (Mark 9. 1). *c.* After the destruction of Jerusalem (Luke 21. 20) "shall they see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory" (Mark 13. 26. Matthew adds "immediately," 24. 29). *d.* Jesus implied it in one or two of his parables, for example, the Unjust Judge (Luke 18. 2-8). *e.*

At his trial he told the high priest, "ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mark 14. 62).

How shall we harmonize these statements with each other? No one coming of Jesus would meet the requirements. Did he mean to predict that he would come several times, that is, at each of these special times or crises? As Stevens admirably puts it,[1] there are about three possible solutions to the problem. *a.* Jesus expected to return soon, but was mistaken. That is, Jesus did not know when he would come and simply shared the generally current view of the Messiah's coming. *b.* Jesus's disciples and hearers misunderstood him on this theme, as they often did on others. He used current imagery and terms in which his listeners saw only their own views. Apparently they did not commit even these to the written page at once and this teaching had but an oral existence for almost a quarter of a century. Such traditions inevitably grow. What they understood Jesus to say gradually expanded unintentionally in the direction of their own beliefs and interests and that was the material at hand for the writers of our gospels, who had little or no personal contact with Jesus. *c.* Jesus meant that his coming would be spiritual or continuous. That would be to say that he would come, that is, the kingdom of God would come in a measure at each of these particular times. From this point of view it is argued that he did come in the work of the twelve and the seventy, that he did come with the fall of Jerusalem which completed Christianity's emancipation from Judaism, and that he did come when the suffering and death on the cross gave him a new power in the life of humankind. In like manner he has been coming ever since.

Then how shall we reconcile these statements with the facts of history? Either Jesus predicted what did not happen or what must be shown to have happened. Obvious it is that he did not come as his hearers understood him to say he would come. Was Jesus mistaken or misunderstood? That is an inescapable alternative. Which is the more likely? If Jesus meant something other than the current or prevailing view, how natural that he

[1] The Teaching of Jesus, p. 165ff.

should be misunderstood! Reporters always color the ideas of any speaker with their own conceptions, unless they are stenographers who take his *ipsissima verba.* That tendency would be magnified here because of the long period of oral transmission and the admitted tendency of such oral tradition to grow in accord with the prevailing ideas of those who hold it. There is another set of facts in Jesus's teaching which will throw light upon this problem.

There is in the gospels a wholly different conception of the coming of the kingdom, which has too often been neglected in the treatments of this theme. It teaches that the kingdom is to come gradually, to grow, develop. *a.* "First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear" (Mark 4. 28). The kingdom will come not only gradually, but by regular and different stages, quite in accord with evolutionary theory. *b.* The kingdom "is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown upon the earth, though it be less than all the seeds that are upon the earth, yet when it is sown, groweth up, and becometh greater than all the herbs, and putteth out great branches; so that the birds of the heaven can lodge under the shadow thereof" (Mark 4. 31f). The smallest of beginnings is to be eventually transformed into the most pervasive and powerful influence in the world. *c.* Again, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, till it was all leavened" (Matt. 13. 33). It is to be achieved not by any plan of intervention, *à la* cataclysm or catastrophe, but by forces that work naturally and slowly, though thoroughly. *d.* This is so true that once, when asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God would come, he said, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation" (Luke 17. 20). *e.* While talking about the coming of the kingdom, he declared, "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark 13. 32). Those words, together with the closing exhortation, "Watch," apply equally well whether it be continuous or at a particular time.

It is apparent that these five statements from the words of Jesus cannot be reconciled with the five quoted in a preceding paragraph. Two sharply different conceptions of the coming of the kingdom stand here. One is that it is to come suddenly, a

spectacular, physically visible coming by miraculous intervention. The other is what might be termed the "developmental" view of its coming. That Jesus could not have held both at the same time need not be argued. The one tends to neutralize or even destroy the other. It is possible that Jesus in his earlier teaching presented the current view and then advanced to the "developmental" conception in his later work, so that naturally both stand in the gospels as his own teaching. Far more likely is it, however, that the former view is the product of what Jesus's hearers saw in the imagery he used. On the other hand the "developmental" view could not have been an invention of the reporters or the writers of the gospels. No teaching that Jesus gave us bears more ineffaceably the stamp of his genius. It is as markedly consistent with the spirit and general teaching of Jesus as the other view is inconsistent. Further, the "developmental" idea is so clear-cut that the suggestion that the presence of the two conceptions in the gospels is the resultant of the confusion in Jesus's own mind seems highly improbable.

If Jesus taught anything comparable to premillennial views, it has been shown he was not its source and that that source was not even biblical. If that were true, in this, at least, he was but a child of his time. That that is true is altogether unlikely, in view of its incompatibility with the spirit and other teaching of Jesus and in view of its relation to the "developmental" thought of the coming and the relation of both conceptions to then current ideas. Because of these facts, to say that Jesus never held such a conception is hardly to assume an unwarranted dogmatic spirit. Further, it has been shown that the premillennialism of Revelation could not have rested upon Jesus and that its source, as in the case of Paul, is to be found in pre-Christian or at least extra-biblical writings. Adherents of premillennial theory have made much of a study of the Bible and the acceptance of what it has to say. Quite apart from its other postulates and implications, it is the study of the Bible, if that can only become more thorough and scientific, and the acceptance of what that type of study discloses, that will be the Nemesis of this fundamentally un-Christian view of the coming of the kingdom.

NEGRO CHURCHES IN THE SOUTH: A PHASE OF RECONSTRUCTION

WILLIAM W. SWEET
De Pauw University

THE relation of the churches to the Negro, in the period before the Civil War, may be conveniently divided into three epochs: The first begins early in the Colonial Period and continues to the close of the Revolution; the second begins with the nineteenth century and continues to about 1835; while the third dates from the latter thirties and continues to the opening of the Civil War. During the Colonial Period there was some effort made on the part of the churches to Christianize the Negro slaves. In fact, one of the early arguments in support of African slavery was to the effect that the bringing of Negroes to Christian America would lead to their Christianization. James Habersham, the Georgia companion of George Whitefield, said in 1730: "I once thought it was unlawful to keep Negro slaves, but I am now induced to think God may have a higher end in permitting them to be brought to this Christian country than merely to support their masters. Many of the poor slaves in America have already been made freemen of the heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come when many thousands may embrace the gospel, and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God. These and other considerations appear to plead strongly for a limited use of Negroes."[1]

During this early period two methods of organizing Christian work among Negro slaves were followed. One was to make the slaves subordinate members of white churches; the other was to gather the slaves into Negro churches under the supervision of the whites. Naturally the Negro congregations tended to increase, which led the Southern colonies to pass laws restricting Negroes

[1] Du Bois, The Negro Church, Atlanta, 1903, 10.

from worshiping apart from the whites.[2] Such laws were passed by North Carolina in 1715, by Maryland in 1723, by Georgia in 1770 and 1792. The multiplication of Negro congregations aroused the suspicion and fear of the masters, hence the restrictive laws.[3]

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, organized in 1701, made some effort to instruct both Indians and Negroes in the colonies, while in the latter half of the century missionary work was carried on among Negro slaves by the Moravians, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists. There were a number of Negroes converted in the Great Awakening in the middle of the eighteenth century, while for several years the Presbyterians made a direct effort in Virginia to reach Negroes with the gospel. The earliest Methodist revival in Virginia also numbered among its converts numerous slaves, and the Baptists were equally successful among them in the great revival of 1791-1792. In 1793 it is estimated that there were 19,000 Negro Baptists in the colonies, while about the same time the number of Negro Methodists is given as 12,215.[4]

The second period of Christian work among Negro slaves, covering the first third of the nineteenth century, is characterized by the neglect of the black population of the South on the part of the Christian churches. The great Negro rebellion in Hayti, as well as numerous smaller Negro disturbances in the United States, particularly the Nat Turner uprising in Virginia, led the Southern States to pass strict legislation limiting the activities of Negro preachers and prohibiting Negro gatherings of all kinds. Thus South Carolina in 1800 passed a law prohibiting not only Negroes from meeting together for worship, but even went so far as to prohibit all mental instruction and religious worship among Ne-

[2] The North Carolina law of 1715 stated: "If any master or owner of Negroes or slaves, or any other person or persons whatsoever in the government, shall permit or suffer any Negro or Negroes to build on their, or either of their lands or any part thereof, any house under pretense of a meeting house upon account of worship, or upon any pretense whatsoever, and shall not suppress or hinder them, he, she, or they so offending, shall, for every default, forfeit and pay fifty pounds, one half toward defraying the contingent charges of the government, the other to him or them that shall sue for the same." (Bassett, Slavery and Servitude in the Colony of North Carolina, Baltimore, 1896, 50.)

[3] Du Bois, The Negro Church, 11.

[4] In 1790 there were 11,682 Negro Methodists in the United States; by 1800 the number had increased to 15,688. (Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1773–1828, Vol. I, 39, 98.)

groes, even in the presence of whites.[5] Later similar laws were passed in Virginia after the Nat Turner insurrection, and also in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Maryland.[6] Practically all the slave-holding States passed laws prohibiting or limiting the instruction of Negroes in schools. In 1834 South Carolina passed a stringent law to this effect.[7]

Beginning about 1830 the various churches began to express great concern for the moral and religious condition of slaves. Thus the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1833 stated: "There are over two millions of human beings in the condition of heathen and some of them in worse condition. . . . The Negroes are destitute of the gospel and ever will be under the present state of things."[8] They call attention to the fact that in the whole South there are not more than twelve men devoted to the religious instruction of Negroes, and that there are but five churches in the slave-holding States built for their use. The next year the Kentucky synod stated: "Slavery deprives its subjects in a great measure of the privileges of the gospel,"[9] while a Georgia clergyman stated "We cannot cry out against the Papists for withholding the scriptures from the common people . . . for we withhold the Bible from our servants, and keep them in ignorance of it."[10]

Such appeals soon led to a more earnest attempt on the part of the Southern churches to reach the Negroes with religious instruction. The Methodists and Baptists especially redoubled their activities. As early as 1829 the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church sent two preachers to work among the slaves

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[5] Goodell, The American Slave Code in Theory and Practice, New York, 1852, 329. Also Du Boise, 22. [6] Du Boise, 25.

[7] Section 1 of the South Carolina law, passed in 1834, stated: "If any person shall hereafter teach any slave to read or write, or shall aid or assist in teaching any slave to read or write, or cause or procure any slave to be taught to read or write, such person, if a free white person, upon conviction thereof shall, for each offense against this act, be fined not exceeding $100 and imprisonment not more than six months." If the offending party was a free Negro the punishment was fifty lashes and $50 fine; if the offending party be a negro slave the penalty was whipping at the discretion of the court with fine. (Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, New York, 1882, ii, 179–180.)

In 1819 an act was passed by Virginia prohibiting "all meetings or assemblages of slaves, or free Negroes, or mulattoes, mixing and associating with such slaves, at any meetinghouse or houses, or any other places, in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading and writing either in the day or night." After the Nat Turner insurrection in 1831 a much sterner act was passed. (Williams, ii, 180–181.)

[8] Goodell, 333, 335, quoted in Du Boise, The Negro Church, 26. [9] Goodell, 336.

[10] C. C. Jones, The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States, Savannah, 1842, 167, 168.

and William Capers was made superintendent of these missions. We are told that prejudice fell away little by little and that the movement begun in South Carolina soon spread throughout the South, and by the time of the death of Bishop Capers, in 1854, there were in South Carolina alone 10,371 Negro Methodists, while the South Carolina Conference expended in 1854 $25,000 for this work. By 1844, the year of the slavery schism in the Methodist Church, over 100,000 African slaves had been gathered into Methodist churches, while two years later the number had increased to 144,961.[11]

Work among the Negroes was carried on by all the churches from this time to the Civil War. In the Episcopal Church "the parochial reports of the clergy, for many years before the war, abound in references to the work of the clergy . . . . for the slaves."[12] On some of the larger plantations churches were built for the Negroes and regular clergymen in many instances served these churches, while catechisms "for those who cannot read" were prepared for the especial instruction of the colored people. In a South Carolina parish there were thirteen chapels for Negroes, and in the above State the number of Negro communicants were about equal to the whites.[13] In 1854 it is stated that one fourth of the slaves of South Carolina were Methodists; one third of the Presbyterians of that State were black, and one half of the Baptists of Virginia were black. In 1859 there were 468,000 Negro church members reported for the South, of whom 215,000 were Methodists and 175,000 Baptists.[14]

The religious instruction of the Negro population in the South was almost completely in the hands of the whites. "It is doubtful if there were a score of colored pastors in full control of colored churches in the South before the war." There were, it is true, a number of outstanding Negro preachers before the war, but they were the exception rather than the rule.[15]

[11] Alexander, Methodists, South (The American Church History Series, Vol. XI). (Scribners, 1894.) 116, 118, 119. See Annie Marie Barnes and W. P. Harrison, The Gospel among the Slaves, Nashville, 1893.

[12] Cheshire, The Church in the Confederate States, New York, 1912, 120.

[13] Ibid., 221, 222.

[14] Du Bois, 29.

[15] Ibid., 33. Du Bois has noted thirteen of the more noted Negro preachers. Some of them were men of remarkable genius. (See The Negro Church, 33-37.)

In the North, however, were several independent Negro churches. The oldest and perhaps the most important was the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been in existence since 1816. It grew out of continued contention between the colored and white members of St. George's Methodist Church in Philadelphia.[16] Another independent Negro church which antedated the war was the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, organized in New York in 1820.[17] Another small Negro church was the African Union Methodist Protestant Church, organized about the same time as the African Methodist, but differing from the latter in regard to organization and government. There were colored Episcopal churches both in New York and Philadelphia, as well as several Baptist and Presbyterian Negro churches in various parts of the North.[18]

Such was the status as to organized Christianity among colored people in the United States before 1860. The period of the Civil War and the period immediately following witnessed some very interesting and important changes among Negro churches, and it is the main purpose of this paper to recount these changes and to estimate their importance.

The Civil War left all the Southern churches in a greatly disorganized and impoverished condition. Many of the ministers had served in the Confederate armies, not only as chaplains but also as officers and common soldiers. As is well known one of the Southern Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, became a Lieutenant-General in the Confederate army. The Protestant Episcopal Church furnished sixty-five chaplains to the Confederate armies;[19] the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, furnished at least two hundred chaplains,[20] while the other churches contributed their proportion. Not only was the man-power of the South greatly depleted by the war, but her economic life was practically destroyed and the whole

[16] Buckley, A History of Methodists in the United States (American Church History Series, Vol. V), New York, 1897, 346–347.

[17] Buckley, 312, 348, 525, 588.

[18] Williams, ii, 135.

[19] Cheshire, The Church in the Confederate States, 79–80. See also the Life of Leonidas Polk.

[20] Sweet, The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War, Appendix, 219–225.

country was in a poverty-stricken condition, without money, clothing, or any immediate means of rehabilitating the churches.[21]

In those districts which had been long occupied by Union armies the churches had been taken over by military authorities, and in some instances Union chaplains were preaching in them. For a time all the Episcopal churches in Alabama were closed by military order, because the bishop had issued a pastoral letter recommending that the prayer for the civil authorities be omitted as long as the State was under military rule.[22] In New Orleans there were five Presbyterian churches without ministers, while like conditions prevailed in practically every town and city throughout the South.[23]

Meanwhile the Northern churches of all denominations were looking toward the South as a missionary field, and before hostilities were over money was being appropriated and organizations perfected for the entering of that field. The establishment of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, headed by General Oliver Otis Howard,[24] a man greatly interested in the church, was considered a direct invitation to the Northern churches to send missionaries and teachers into the South. The Methodist Episcopal Church, for instance, by 1869 had succeeded in organizing ten new Annual Conferences in the late slave-holding States. They worked among both whites and Negroes, though they succeeded in winning many more Negro members than white, and by 1871 their Negro membership was twice that of the white.[25]

At the same time the Southern churches, in spite of their poverty and disorganized condition, were beginning to recognize their obligation to their ex-slaves and were making plans to meet those obligations. Thus the Alabama Baptist convention in November, 1865, stated: "The condition of our colored population appeals very strongly to the sympathy of every Christian heart and demands, at the hands of all who love the Saviour, renewed exertions

[21] Oberholtzer, History of the United States since the Civil War, chap. i (22). Cheshire, 184.

[22] McPherson, Political History of the U. S. during the Great Rebellion, Wash., 1864, 545.

[23] Report of commission appointed to investigate the condition of Presbyterian and Baptist Churches in New Orleans. See also Christian Advocate and Journal, Feb. 4, 1864.

[24] Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, New York, 1908, Vol. II.

[25] Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. I, 548. See my article, "Methodist Church Influence in Southern Politics."

for their moral and religious improvement; and to this end we would recommend the establishment of Sunday schools, the providing for them the preached gospel, and the adoption of all practical appliances which will tend to ameliorate their condition and become sharers in a common salvation."[25] Like action was taken by the Protestant Episcopal Church. In a pastoral letter in 1865 the Bishop of North Carolina pointed out to his people the changed relationships of the races and admonished them to remember the ignorance and inexperience of the Negro, reminds them of the Negro's faithfulness during the war, warns them of the danger of the Negro falling into mischievous hands, and concludes with, "Let us raise up colored congregations in our towns and let all our clergy feel that one important part of their charge is to teach and to befriend the colored people, and especially to train as far as they are permitted to do so the children of that race."[27]

Nor were the Southern Methodists behind the others in urging increased Christian work among the freedmen. A Southern Methodist editor in the autumn of 1865 states in his journal, "It is as much our duty to look after their (the Negroes') spiritual interests as it is to send missionaries to the Indians or to China."[28] Another editor stated: "While we boast of no great wealth, and a very humble share of piety is all we claim, yet when the genuineness of our regard for the colored race is brought fairly to the test, the logic of facts will vindicate us."[29] By 1866 the Southern Methodists had outlined a plan for their colored members. The Negroes were to be organized as separate charges, with their own Quarterly Conferences; colored persons were to be licensed to preach, and where conditions justified, colored districts were to be formed, and later an Annual Conference, and when there were two or more Annual Conferences they were to be assisted in forming a separate jurisdiction for themselves.[30]

All of these efforts of the Southern churches for the Negro, however, were more or less in vain. The Negroes were now free

[25] Minutes of the Baptist State Convention, Alabama, November, 1865, 10, quoted in Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, Vol. II, 245.

[27] Cheshire, The Church in the Confederate States, 132–134.

[28] The Southern Christian Advocate, September 21, 1865.

[29] Richmond Christian Advocate, October 26, 1865.

[30] Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for 1866.

and many of them, if for no other reason than to put their freedom to the test, were anxious to separate themselves from the churches of their former masters. In many cases the Negro was suspicious of the Southern churches, with the result that the Negro membership of these churches rapidly decreased. Of the Negro membership of the Southern Presbyterian Church, it is estimated that seventy per cent went to the independent Negro churches. In 1860 the Methodist Church, South, had 207,000 Negro members, by 1866 only a little over 78,000 remained.[21] In 1866 the African Methodist Episcopal Church had in round numbers 50,000 members, 185 preachers, and 285 churches. By 1880 the number of preachers had increased to 1,832, the number of local preachers reached the astonishing number of 7,928, while the membership totaled 391,044, an increase of nearly 350,000.[22] The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church also made a similar growth. In ten years it had grown from 26,746 members to 172,000 members; from 193 preachers and 444 local preachers to 391 regular preachers and 1,420 local preachers.[23] Organization of Negro Baptist churches also went on rapidly throughout the South during the years 1865-1870. In some instances the separation from the white churches was accomplished without bad feeling on either side. This was true of the Negro Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, where the whites aided in the organization of the Negro church and assisted in the erection of a church building for the Negroes.[24] It is stated on good authority that "similar things occurred in all the States of the South." In some instances, also, the Negro members of Southern white Methodist churches separated with the approval of the whites. One minister of the Methodist Church, South, thus describes the formation of a Negro congregation: "My Negro membership was large and a somewhat puzzling factor in our work . . . now they were free and began to assert their independence. I told them of the organization of their people . . . the Zion Methodist, and believing they would be better in that church than ours, I called their

[21] Du Bois, 47.

[22] Williams, History of the Negro Race in America, ii, 454–457.

[23] Methodist Almanac, 1860, 31; also Annual Cyclopædia, 1870, 490.

[24] Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, 247.

leaders together and explained it to them to go into that organization."[35]

While there were many such peaceful separations from the old churches, yet the general impression was that the Negroes had been weaned away from their former masters and from their former masters' churches by Northern leaders and troublemakers. An interesting and important factor in the organization of these independent Negro churches in the South at the close of the war was the Northern Negro and his white contemporary. We are accustomed to think of the carpetbagger as a Northern white, but all the carpetbaggers were not white, for there was a considerable sprinkling of Northern Negroes among them. As an instance: in the South Carolina convention of 1868 there were seventy-six Negroes and seventeen of them were from outside the State. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts furnished two each, Ohio and Michigan furnished one each, while the remainder were from other Southern and border States.[36]

A study of the religious leaders among the Negroes of the South immediately following the war would reveal a considerable sprinkling of Northern Negroes, or Negroes from Canada and the British West Indies. I have found in the Negro Baptist Church such names as Rev. I. S. Campbell, a Negro missionary in Texas and Louisiana, who had been ordained in Canada in 1855; Rev. Rufus L. Perry, born a slave and escaped to Canada, became a Baptist preacher in Michigan before the war and returned to the South as a missionary in 1865. Other Negro leaders were educated at the North and many Southern Negroes were ordained by Northern white missionaries. A conspicuous example of a Northern Negro leadership in the Negro Methodist churches was Rev. Richard H. Cain. He had begun to preach in Indiana in 1854, preached in Brooklyn during the war, and at its close went to South Carolina, where he became conspicuous both in his church and the politics of that State.[37]

[35] Sullins, Recollections of an Old Man, Seventy Years in Dixie, Cleveland, Tenn., 1910, 327.

[36] Reynolds, Reconstruction in South Carolina, Columbia, 1905, 78–79.

[37] I have obtained information concerning a number of Southern Negro Baptists from A. W. Pegues, Our Baptist Ministers and Schools, Springfield, Mass., 1892. The best source of information concerning the leaders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church is R. R. Wright, Centennial Encyclopædia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1916. Each of these books contains short biographies of numerous ministers, of these two Negro churches.

At the close of the war the freedmen were enthusiastic for education and religion. Many had strange notions of freedom, thinking freedom meant freedom from work, and to test their new possession many left the plantations and betook themselves to the towns and cities or wandered about the country. The Freedmen's Bureau emphasized education, and schools for the blacks were speedily organized both under the control of the Bureau and Northern benevolent and missionary agencies. In North Carolina in 1865 there were 63 schools for Negroes, with 5,624 pupils; by 1869 there were 431 schools, 439 teachers, and 20,226 pupils.[38] Like increase was recorded all over the South. In some instances Negro schools were taught by Negro preachers, as was the case in Tallahassee, Florida, where in 1866 five such schools were found.[39] Idleness among the Negroes gave them plenty of opportunity to exercise their religious desires. We are told that baptizings were as popular as operas among the whites, "shouting they went into the water and shouting they came out." One old Negro woman came out of the water screaming, "Freed from slavery! Freed from sin! Bress God and General Grant."

That the Negro churches and schools should become involved in politics during the period of carpetbag and Negro rule, at the South, was to be expected. Religion and politics were strangely blended by the Negro during reconstruction.[40] The Negroes had heard their condition in slavery so frequently compared to that of the Jews in Egypt that they had come to think of their race as under similar divine direction, and naturally they thought of their new freedom as the result of divine intervention.[41] Tourgee, in his story Bricks without Straw, thus describes the Negro's way of associating his politics and religion: "Accustomed to regard their race as peculiarly dependent upon the divine aid, because of the lowly position they had occupied, they became habituated to associate political and religious interests. The helplessness of servitude left no room for hope except through the trustfulness

[38] Hamilton, Civil War and Reconstruction in North Carolina (Columbia University Studies), 316.

[39] Davis, Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida (Columbia University Studies), 385.

[40] Ibid., 489–490.

[41] Methodist Church and Southern Politics, Miss. Valley Hist. Review, Vol. 1, 551.

of faith. . . . For this reason the political and religious interests and emotions of this people were quite inseparable. Wherever they meet for worship there they will meet to consult of their plans, hopes, and progress. . . . Their religion is tinged with political thought, and their political thought shaped by religious conviction."[c]

It was natural also that the Negro should think of the agency through which he had gained his freedom as a divine agency and in that way the Republican party came to have a religious significance to him. He therefore could not understand why he should not bring his politics into the church: why the Union League, or the Lincoln Legion, should not hold their meeting in their churches with perfect propriety. It was to be expected also that the white leaders of the Negroes, as well as the leaders of their own race, should use the church as a means for the political organization and control of the Negro. Thus one of the carpetbaggers in Florida, one Liberty Billings, is described:[d] "He preached to the blacks in their churches, kissed their babies, and told them that Jesus Christ was a Republican." The carpetbagger, whether white or black, of course expressed great concern for the welfare of the Negro, and the description of a carpetbagger by Horace Greeley is apt. He describes them as "long-faced, and with eyes rolled up were greatly concerned for the education of the blacks and for the salvation of their souls. 'Let us pray,' they said, but they spelled pray with an 'e' and, thus spelled, they obeyed the apostolic injunction to 'prey' without ceasing."[e]

Not only were the schools and churches the headquarters of Negro politics, but also the educational and religious leaders among the freedmen were the natural candidates for office. A partial list of Negro ministers who succeeded in gaining office during the early years of reconstruction will be sufficient to show this tendency. There were seven Negro ministers among the delegates in the South Carolina constitutional convention; Rev. R. H. Cain, later a bishop in the A. M. E. Church, whom we have already

[c] Tourgee, Bricks without Straw, New York, 1880, 184.
[d] Davis, Florida, 471.
[e] Reports of Comm. House of Rep., 2 S. 42 Cong., Vol. II, 477.

mentioned, became a congressman from South Carolina, having previously served two terms as State Senator. He had also conducted a Republican paper, The Missionary Record, and had served in the constitutional convention.[45] Rev. William H. Heard, also of the African Methodist Church and later a bishop, served in the South Carolina legislature and was later appointed Minister to Liberia.[46] Bishop Turner of the same church was a member of the Georgia constitutional convention; a member of the legislature; was later postmaster of Macon, and still later held the office of inspector of customs and detective in the United States Secret Service.[47] Rev. T. G. Campbell of the Zion Methodist Church was a State Senator in Georgia;[48] Rev. James W. Hood of the Zion Methodist and later a bishop was a member of the constitutional convention of North Carolina, became a member of the legislature and later held the office of assistant superintendent of Education.[49] Rev. Hiram R. Revels, a colored minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mississippi, became a United States Senator, succeeding Jefferson Davis.[50] The only other colored United States Senator was Blanche K. Bruce, also of Mississippi. He had been educated at Oberlin College following the war and was elected to the Senate in 1875.[51]

At first the whites looked on with more or less indifference, and in some cases even with favor upon the activities of the Negro schools and churches. Thus one Southerner states: "Before the Negro question in all its phases was brought into politics, and before the radicals, carpetbaggers, and scalawags had caused irritation between the races, there was a determination on the part of the best whites in public and private life, as a measure of defense as well as a duty and as justice, to do all that lay in their power to fit the Negro for citizenship. Some of the Democratic leaders advocated Negro education."[52] When it became certain, however, that

[45] Wright, Encyclopædia of African Methodism, 269.
[46] Ibid., 111.
[47] Ibid., 230–231.
[48] Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary State, 7: 815 (Georgia Testimony).
[49] D. W. Culp, Twentieth Century Negro Literature, Toronto, 1902, 117, 118.
[50] Schouler, History of the United States, VII, 170 (footnote). Also Williams, II, 423.
[51] Williams, II, 445.
[52] Fleming, Alabama, 324, 325.

the Negro church and school were to serve as tools to their political enemies,[53] their wrath and indignation knew no bounds. It is undoubtedly true that the Negro church and schools, and the Negro teacher and preacher were cogs in a political machine for the control of the Negro vote. The Negro, however, was usually subordinated to the white politician, to whom the largest political plums fell.[54]

On the organization of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in 1870, which was made up of the colored members of the Methodist Church, South, who remained in the white church after the war, a clause was placed in their Discipline, very probably at the suggestion of their white friends, forbidding the "using of church houses for political speeches and meetings."[55] This church was called by the other Negro churches a "rebel church," or a "Democratic church," or "the old slavery church." In some instances the other Negro churches refused social relations with those who in any way affiliated with the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.[56]

The Ku Klux vented their wrath upon the Negro schools and churches by burning their buildings and intimidating their preachers and teachers. Instances of Negro church burning are numerous,[57] but there were few white churches or preachers molested. The reason generally given for these burnings was that the Negro church and schools were the meeting places for Negro political clubs.

And here it may be in place to draw some conclusions:

First. It is unfortunate that the Christian people of the North, and the churches generally, should have contributed so largely to the bitterness of reconstruction. The intentions of the

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[53] "The Council of the Union League met once a week, sometimes oftener, and nearly always at night, in the Negro churches and schoolhouses." (Fleming, Alabama, 561, Note.) See also Fleming, 625.

[54] Ibid., 567.

[55] Buckley, Methodists, 597–599.

[56] C. H. Phillips, Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, 71; quoted in Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, II, 260–261.

[57] The following are some of the instances of the burning of Negro churches given in Report of the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Conditions of Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States, Washington, 1872: Arkansas Test., 21; North Carolina Test., 40; Alabama Test., 72; Mississippi Test., 73; North Carolina Test., 14; Ibid., 93; Ibid., 133; Ibid., 134; South Carolina Test., II, 1063; Georgia Test., II, 1100; Ibid., II, 1167; Ibid., II, 1188; Alabama Test., I, 236; Ibid., I, 533; Ibid., II, 755; Ibid., II, 1010.

majority were doubtless good, but their judgment was grossly at fault, due largely to a lack of knowledge of conditions at the South. Second. I do not condemn the organization of the independent Negro churches, for that was inevitable, but they ought never to have been allowed to become the tool of a political party. Third. The church generally tried to push things too rapidly—there was a woeful lack of patience, especially with the Southern white—the Negro was idealized while the Southern white was too much mistrusted. It would have been far better both for the Southern white and the Negro if Northern churches had cooperated with Southern churches in trying to deal with the Negro problem.

BOTANICAL FIGURES IN BIBLICAL PROPHECY

NEIL E. STEVENS

Bureau of Plant Industry, Agricultural Department, U. S. A.

WHATEVER the message of the Hebrew prophets, their language was vigorous. One element which made their speech telling was the use of figures of wide appeal, and almost universally understood. Nor were their figures significant only at the time they were spoken. In very large part they are as readily understood to-day as several thousand years ago. Prominent among these enduring figures are those here designated as botanical, because they refer to plants.

The usefulness of a classical allusion, or even a biblical reference, is definitely limited. Such a figure can appeal only to those familiar with the literature, or to whom the figure has been explained. A botanical figure, on the other hand, appeals wherever there are people and plants. That the plant names used in the English Bible are in some cases certainly not those referred to in the original, in no way affects the truth of this assertion. It is indeed additional proof of the permanence of these botanical figures that they have survived both time and translation. Botanical figures are of course not unique in this respect. In the same class are all references to natural objects or phenomena. For example,

> O Judah, what shall I do unto thee? for your goodness is as a morning cloud, and as the dew that goeth early away. (Hosea.)[1]
>
> For they sow the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind. (Hosea.)

Nor are botanical figures confined to or especially developed in the prophetic books. The Song of Songs contains no less than sixteen, and the First Psalm consists essentially of two contrasted botanical figures. The prophetic books are selected for discus-

[1] As will be at once evident, the text used is that of the Modern Reader's Bible, edited by Richard G. Moulton. For permission to quote from this copyrighted text the writer wishes to acknowledge his obligation to The Macmillan Company. No indication is made of chapter and verse, for the quotations will be easily verified by those interested and references would needlessly cumber the text.

sion because they form a fairly homogeneous group, and it is obviously impracticable to consider the Scriptures entire. Even here no attempt will be made at complete citation. The aim will be rather to indicate the range of ideas which botanical figures are used to amplify.

Perhaps no idea is more naturally expressed in botanical figure than that of growth and development. This may be either the development of an idea, or the actual growth of a nation, with the closely associated idea of reproduction.

For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all nations. (Isaiah.)

In days to come shall Jacob take root;
Israel shall blossom and bud:
And they shall fill the face of the world with fruit. (Isaiah.)

I caused thee to multiply as the bud of the field. (Ezekiel.)

I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: and they shall spring up among the grass, as willows by the water courses. (Isaiah.)

The significance of the last quotation will be best appreciated by those who recall the readiness with which the numerous dehiscent branches of the willow take root in moist soil, its abundant seed production, and the extraordinarily rapid and abundant germination of the seed under favorable moisture conditions, "by the watercourses."

An idea which finds frequent expression in the prophetic books, especially Isaiah, is that of the small and carefully chosen "remnant" which shall survive the universal judgment and be reestablished, "again take root downward and bear fruit upward" (Isaiah) in a golden age. This remnant is often described in botanical figures.

For thus shall it be in the midst of the earth among the peoples, as the shaking of an olive tree, as the grape gleanings when the vintage is done. (Isaiah.)

Yet there shall be left therein gleanings, as the shaking of an olive tree, two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough, four or five in the outmost branches of a fruitful tree, saith the Lord, the God of Israel. (Isaiah.)

And the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them. (Isaiah.)

And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall beat out his corn, from the flood of the River unto the brook of Egypt, and ye shall be gathered, one by one, O ye children of Israel. (Isaiah.)

Isaiah finds botanical figures equally applicable to express desolation and its antithesis. And material prosperity finds its counterpart in fruitful vegetation.

For ye shall be as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water. (Isaiah.)

The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose. (Isaiah.)

Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? wherefore are all they at ease that deal treacherously? Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit. (Jeremiah.)

Serenity and joy among the mental states, as well as physical strength and weakness are expressed botanically.

And their soul shall be as a watered garden; and they shall not sorrow any more at all. (Jeremiah.)

And ye shall see it, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like the tender grass. (Isaiah.)

Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was as strong as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath. (Amos.)

Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as a field of corn before it be grown up. (Isaiah.)

The figure of a "bruised reed" to express unreliability has, like many other Biblical figures, entered into our daily speech.

Behold, thou trusteth upon the staff of this bruised reed, even unto Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust on him. (Isaiah.)

Equally vigorous, though less well known, is the figure used by Nahum to express the weakness of fortifications.

All thy fortresses shall be like fig trees with the firstripe figs:
If they be shaken,
They fall into the mouth of the eater. (Nahum.)

The significance of this figure lies in the fact that the figs of the first crop (the first ripe) are often larger than those which mature later and would thus be more easily detached by shaking. That the first crop of a fig tree each season is, in some varieties, generally composed of larger fruit than the later crops is attested by such well known authorities as Dr. J. E. Coit of California and Dr. W. T. Swingle of Washington. These gentlemen are, however, unable to verify the observations of the prophet Hosea that the crop of the first year is usually superior in quality to that of later years.

> I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness; I saw your fathers as the firstripe in the fig trees at her first season. (Hosea.)

Of course it is possible that the English translation does not exactly represent the original or that in the variety best known to this early writer such a condition may actually have been noticed. The first year's crop on some of our modern varieties of other fruits is often composed of notably large and beautiful specimens.

In discussing the essentials of a liberal education, advocates of the study of Greek and Latin maintain, or used to maintain, that they were necessary to a proper appreciation of English literature. Those who are now advocating the study of the English Bible as literature in our schools urge that the Hebrews no less than the Greeks were our literary ancestors; and that to train ourselves in the productions of one and not of the other means a distorted culture. After considering such figures as those just mentioned it may well be maintained that for a proper understanding of the Bible one must have a good knowledge of botany and the other natural sciences.

The degenerate and desperate condition of a people who hunted "every man his brother with a net," whose judges were ready for a reward, and among whom there was "none upright" is thus described by Micah:

> The best of them is a brier: the most upright is worse than a thorn hedge. (Micah.)

And among the many figures used to express the utter detesta-

tion felt for a deposed tyrant, in the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, which seemed so appropriate in the days which followed the eleventh of November, 1918, is that of a useless and presumably diseased pruning.

> But thou art cast forth away from thy sepulchre,
> Like an abominable branch. (Isaiah.)

Complete destruction is vividly expressed in the means by which a weed or cultivated plant may be injured beyond recovery.

> Ephraim is smitten, their root is dried up, they shall bear no fruit. (Hosea.)
>
> And I will kill thy root with famine,
> And thy remnant shall be slain. (Isaiah.)

Radical change and regeneration finds its counterpart when desirable and useful plants replace undesirable or harmful ones.

> Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree,
> And instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree. (Isaiah.)

Jeremiah twice makes use of the parallel between the fruit of a tree and the results of a man's work, best known probably from the New Testament "by their fruits ye shall know them."

> I knew not that they had devised devices against me, saying, Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered. (Jeremiah.)
>
> They have sown wheat, and have reared thorns; they have put themselves to pain, and profit nothing: and ye shall be ashamed of your fruits, because of the fierce anger of the Lord. (Jeremiah.)

In spite of its familiarity the figure of the sour grapes should not be passed over without quotation, nor should that of the rush.

> The fathers have eaten sour grapes,
> And the children's teeth are set on edge. (Ezekiel.)
>
> Is it to bow down his head as a rush? (Isaiah.)

Even partial quotation, however, is impossible of the sustained, almost intricate, botanical figures of Ezekiel as used in the Parable of the Vine, the Parable of the Eagles and the Cedar,

The Fallen Cedar, and A Wail for a Broken Vine. The vine as the national emblem of Israel appears frequently in a figurative sense.

The contrasting ideas of the brevity of human life and of the enduring life of a nation or of the things of God are most forcefully called up by the contrast of the annual herbaceous plant or plant part, and the long life of a sound and thrifty tree.

For as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people, and my chosen shall long enjoy the work of their hands. (Isaiah.)[1]

Therefore they shall be as the morning cloud, and as the dew that passeth early away, as the chaff that is driven with the whirlwind out of the threshing-floor, and as the smoke out of the chimney. (Hosea.)

All flesh is grass,
And all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field:
The grass withereth,
The flower fadeth,
Because the breath of the Lord bloweth upon it:
Surely the people is grass!

The grass withereth,
The flower fadeth:
But the word of our God shall stand forever. (Isaiah.)

In Jeremiah both members of the antithesis are supported by botanical figures in a passage of great force and beauty.

Thus saith the Lord: Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh; but shall inhabit the parched places in the wilderness, a salt land and not inhabited.

Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is. For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out his roots by the river, and shall not fear when heat cometh, but his leaf shall be green; and shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall cease from yielding fruit. (Jeremiah.)

These are of course the thoughts and in part the very words of the first psalm, which in spite of its familiarity may well be quoted in conclusion:

[1] Compare Holmes's

In fact, there is nothing that keeps its youth,
So far as I know, but tree and truth.

THE TREE AND THE CHAFF

A Prefatory Psalm

Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
But his delight is in the law of the Lord;
And in his law doth he meditate day and night.

And he shall be like a Tree planted by the streams of water,
That bringeth forth its fruit in its season,
Whose leaf also doth not wither;
And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.
The wicked are not so;
But are like the Chaff which the wind driveth away.

Therefore the wicked shall not stand in the judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous:
But the way of the wicked shall perish.

DARKNESS AND DAWN

Oscar L. Joseph
Tottenville, Staten Island, N. Y.

The backward look spells distrust of the present, the upward look confesses personal insufficiency, the forward look assumes responsibility under the conviction that "the best is yet to be." The uniqueness of the Bible revelation is that it fixes its glance at the glory ahead. It thus advances from less to more, from little to much, from worse to better, from crooked to straight, from slow to fast, from darkness through twilight into light, and on towards the splendor of the fullness and perfection of light. There are assuredly checks and set-backs, interruptions and delays, deviations and corrections, but the path is ever towards the clear-purposed goal. The way winds up the mountain and descends to the valley and then travels along a level course, then again it climbs or makes a turn or penetrates through a fastness or makes a trail through the woods, but resolutely and ceaselessly it leads forward to the golden climax. Truly, the Bible is the book of the future. Saint Paul declared that the earlier revelation was given for our learning that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures we might have hope, and his prayer was that his readers may abound in hope, by the grace of the God of patience and hope, who will fill us with all joy and peace in believing. (Rom. 15. 4, 5, 13.)

Just as the call to faith is the insistent summons of the Bible so also the appeal is constantly made to hope, with which we front the dawn in glad surrender to its light. "I will give her the valley of Achor for a door of hope," is the promise in the prophet of Jehovah's long suffering. (Hosea 2. 15.) "I will turn their mourning into joy and my people shall be satisfied with my goodness," were words addressed by Jeremiah in the days of desolation (Ch. 31. 14). The herald of the Restoration announced that the glad tidings offered "a garland for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." (Isa 61. 3.) Zechariah declared that "at evening time there shall be light"

(Ch. 14. 7). The Psalmist saw the silver lining in the cloud and rejoiced that "weeping may tarry for the night, but joy cometh in the morning." (Psa. 30. 5.) All the seers and saints of the Old Testament were sustained by the virtue of hope which made them strong to stand and to withstand, in the serene assurance that God cannot fail and that the powers of righteousness are greater than the evil which must finally perish.

While hope is the keynote of the Old Testament finding its sublime expression in the Messianic promise, in the New Testament it is more substantially grounded and exercises a wider range of influence. The period of fulfillment had at last come and it was the earnest of yet larger unfoldings. Hope thus received a richer content and a deeper meaning and was redolent of the perfume of eternity. Since the "better hope" has made God more accessible, there is a spirit of fervor and exultation, so distinctive of Christianity. "Hope putteth not to shame because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which was given unto us." (Rom. 5. 5.) The Gentile world is referred to as "having no hope and without God." (Eph. 2. 12.) The present experience of the indwelling Christ is "the hope of glory." (Col. 1. 27.) "Good hope through grace" is conferred by God our Father. (2 Thess. 2. 16.) Hope furthermore is "an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast," and gives full assurance unto the end. (Heb. 6. 11, 19.) Those who are conscious of being children of God are justified in anticipating larger accessions of Divine benefits and they purify themselves even as he is pure. (1 John 3. 1-3.) It is not like the baseless fabric of a dream but a solid gift that rouses the conscience, liberates the mind, stirs the emotions and quickens the will to labor for the realization of a new heaven and a new earth. (2 Peter 3. 13f.) Saint Paul recognized its significance and strength when he placed it between faith and love and regarded these three as the salient virtues of Christianity.

There was no place for hope in the best of pagan characters who regarded its presence as a sign of weakness and passivity. They argued that it was doubtless characteristic of the sanguine temperament which is invariably impulsive and often unreliable.

The stoic declared that "the only genuine good that life can yield a man is the free possession of his own soul; all other goods are lies." The epicurean counseled, "Seek not to be happy, but rather to escape unhappiness; strong happiness is always linked with pain; therefore hug the safe shore, and do not tempt the deeper raptures." Not so is it with the Christian ethic, which thinks of hope as an indispensable stimulus for complete and balanced living. The Greek genius, obsessed by material beauty, speculative and conceited, felt the impact of Christianity so profoundly as to experience a transformation of spirit. Its unwavering assurance, cherished even in the days of deepest humiliation and darkest defeat, was forcibly expressed by the words I. X. NIKA, *Jesus Christ conquers,* placed on the bronze gates of Saint Sophia, Constantinople. This legend was overlooked or scorned by the Ottoman conquerors, when Christianity fell before Islam. But it remained a sure word of prophecy of the ultimate triumph of the Cross over the Crescent and all other symbols of worldly power. However untoward may be our circumstances, it is still true that *Jesus Christ conquers,* and he will continue to do so until the brotherhood of the whole race becomes a reality.

The signs of our times make for discouragement, but they are surely not any worse than when our Lord began his holy enterprise of world-redemption. It was an age of unfaith and, worse yet, of cynicism, "saturated with cant," brilliant but superficial, restless and weary even to exhaustion. The cup was drained to its dregs and all resources had failed. The voice of the prophets was silenced by the clamorous demands of priests, whose emphasis on policy rather than principle had nullified the ministry of religion to life's deepest needs. The Messianic hope of Judaism had become a political program, and while its leaders were engaged in unworthy efforts to secure the patronage of Rome, their influence in moral and spiritual things was practically lost, and they had the shell without the kernel of religion. All the national faiths failed to satisfy; they had reached a state of senility and their gorgeous ritual and elaborate ceremonials could not resuscitate the sterile life anywhere. The emptiness and defeat experienced in these higher things inevitably reacted on social and economic life.

"In no period," wrote Lecky, "had brute force more completely triumphed, in none was the thirst for material advantages more intense, in very few was vice more ostentatiously glorified." The darkness was relieved here and there by elect spirits, whose presence ameliorated harsh conditions, but their humane efforts were weakened by the Greek virtue of moderation, which knew nothing of the quickening of enthusiasm. They were therefore incapable of stemming the growing flood of vice, immorality, and crime.

One feature which, however, relieved the tedium and tastelessness of this depressing situation was the widespread spirit of expectancy. There was a feeling that a change was imminent, which would divert the course of an exhausted world in the direction of rejuvenation. The contact of East and West brought the nations closer to one another, and the intermingling of races and religions, as well as their competitions, tended towards universalism and internationalism in the Roman Empire. Eclectic cults which sipped the honey from many a flower of art, culture, ethics, philosophy, and religion appealed to the cultivated classes, by whom skepticism was regarded as a virtue and sympathy a vice. The desire for a cosmopolitan religion was further stimulated by the imperial worship, which offered much but gave little, to satisfy the heart hunger for religious support and inspiration.

On that hard pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell:
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

In his cool hall with haggard eyes
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad in furious guise
Along the Appian way;

He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crowned his hair with flowers.
No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours.

This was the atmosphere into which Christianity came with its challenge to the listlessness and heartlessness of those who in the upper strata of society were suffering from *ennui;* with its appeal to the seekers after God who seemed to be beyond the

reach of human ken; with its promise of hope to lowly toilers whose prospects were depressingly somber, as they traveled the millround of cruel and uncontrollable circumstances. It was a hostile atmosphere, but the ineradicable and irrepressible hopefulness of the Gospel overmatched the distemper and delusions of that day. Their contemporaries resented the buoyant temper of the Christians, but they could not deny the blissful realities witnessed in the actual experience of these men and women whose lives convincingly advertised the higher moral sanctions, the richer spiritual realizations, and the deeper religious compulsions which swayed them. Every walk of life was ultimately to be quickened by the healing tides of the Divine Spirit, whose indwelling furnished the needed morale that gave confidence, endurance, and courage for the exacting task of world-redemption. Nowhere did the gloom and despair yield so completely to the gladness and deliverance of Christianity as in the better and nobler views of immortality. The undying hope of eternal life was well symbolized by the cock, the herald of the dawn. A significant change was made when the skull and cross-bones were supplanted by decorations of the lily, with epitaphs telling of the assurance of resurrection and the life forevermore. Contrast the pathos of the pagan inscription, "Drink now to my memory and wish that the earth may be light on me," with the suffused light of the Christian inscription, "To her sweet nurse, Paulina, who dwells in Christ among the blest."

The early Christians had a high-tide experience which liberated latent powers. Most of them were "unlearned and ignorant," after the fashion of the schools; but there was such an intensifying of the inner life that they received "an extraordinary spaciousness of mind," and there welled out of them the fountains of faith, hope, love, joy, to water a parched and thirsty earth. They furthermore reckoned with the wholeness of life, and so there was boldness in their attitude and a temper of determination, not to be swayed by extremes, but to be governed by the sublime ideal of perfection in Jesus Christ. The pessimist suffers from disillusion without a sequel. His discovery of evil makes him so short-sighted that he has no horizon worthy the name. He cultivates

the habit of looking down and is incapable of taking expansive views. His sky is moreover darkened by the dust he has stirred up and which well-nigh chokes him and others. The optimist often takes a rosy view; he refuses to think of the disagreeable facts, or glosses them over, as Emerson was wont to do. But these facile ways are without the sanction of conscience and the support of experience, and all attempts to discount the evil have neither solicitude nor sympathy. The true attitude must reckon with the lights and shadows. Weariness and pain are strangely mingled with seasons of happiness and exhilaration. The strain of melancholy is oft relieved by the tonic of cheerfulness. Days of excessive tension are followed by brighter days of relaxation. Moods of listlessness and despair are overtaken by moods of frank confidence and joyousness. Disappointment comes after success, triumph after failure, oppression after overcoming, happiness after misery, sorrow after joy, the sunshine after the cloud, strength after weakness, bitter after sweet.

There are four strings to the violin and the expert player knows how to use them, and if perchance he is left with only one string he can yet make music to please and pacify the spirit. There is not the sameness of monotony in life. To-day is not the same as yesterday and a hundred influences will operate to make to-morrow unlike any preceding day. The Epicurean was a coward at heart, for the essence of his wisdom, so called, was, "Avoid disappointment by expecting little, and by aiming low; and above all do not fret." Such a counsel of escape would impoverish life and make it bitter instead of making it better. How different it is with Christians who have endured nobly and sacrificed bravely because they learned to expect great things from God and were not disappointed; and with whom it was a habit to attempt great things for God, and who were justified by the gratifying results, beyond cavil or cynicism.

The heart of the Universe is sound. In spite of the conspiracies of traitors and the chicaneries of the dissolute, the undercurrent flows towards the City of Perfection and Peace. We therefore confess that all things work together for good; and this conclusion is not a superficial generalization but a definite convic-

tion, after a survey of the divers strands which make up the warp and woof of the great adventure of life. The pessimist and the optimist are both lacking in the ability to play fair because they are on the bias of prejudice, and the building which they erect, without square, level, or plumb, is doomed to disintegration. Far better is the serene attitude of the New Testament, which discerns beneath the surface and has the courage of hope that the existing dualism between good and evil will finally disappear. The Christian is thus a meliorist, who knows that "the day must dawn and darksome night be past." In the words of the Apostle John, he sees "the darkness is passing away and the true light already shineth." The wounds inflicted on humanity shall be cured; those who are flung into the abyss will be delivered; the waste must be reclaimed, the void filled, the gulf bridged, the wrongs righted. God has not left this world to the despair of its own delusions, nor will his purpose of redemption in the Incarnate Christ be defeated, for He is the Conqueror. Although appearances might discount this truth, and experiences challenge it, and influences negate it, yet the quiet and persistent testimony of history proclaims that the outcome will be good and not evil, when God shall be all and in all.

This is the triumphant hope of Christianity and those who have cherished it, struggled and prevailed in the magnanimous might of the Divine energy. Marcus Aurelius, the consummate flower of paganism and one of the noblest souls of antiquity, confessed that this world was "mere dirt and darkness." He regarded himself happy if he could get out of it. His *Meditations* breathe the spirit of pessimism and he thought of the pettiness and paltriness around him with hopelessness. His ethical standards were defective because of the cancerous germ of fatalism. The Apostle Paul fearlessly faced the boisterous and insolent evil in the world and recognized the unutterable depths of depravity and shame; but he also realized the efficient efficacy of the Christian redemption. While he wished for himself to depart and to be with Christ, nevertheless for the sake of the needy he was willing to spend and be spent, and he was confident that "the earnest expectation of the creation was waiting for the revealing of the sons of God." (Rom. 8. 18.) Walter Pater introduces Marius the Epicurean to a large

assembly of Christian believers among whom were varieties of rank, of age, of personal type, but their faces were strangely transfigured. "Was some credible message from beyond 'the flaming rampart of the world'—a message of hope, regarding the place of men's souls and their interest in the sum of things—already moulding anew their very bodies, and looks, and voices, now and here? At least, there was a cleansing and kindling flame at work in them, which seemed to make everything else Marius had ever known look comparatively vulgar and mean." In this presence he was at last able to understand the secret of Cornelius his friend, whose way was so pleasant through the world. It was the Christian hope that had illuminated the understanding and transformed the hearts of these Christians, whose lives magnified the radiant joy of redemption in Jesus Christ. Indeed, a similar exhibition has been witnessed in every age, from those early times to our own day. The hazards of losses were serious and tears mingled with fears; but their contemplation was without fear because they distinguished between the permanent and passing values in a distracted world of crisis and change. There were seers, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whose penetrating vision enabled them to assert, in the words of Professor Rendel Harris, that "The rocks were not burning and showed no signs of passing away." What they possessed in the early centuries is what we need in the twentieth century. We need a richer conception of God, which makes room for him everywhere, even at the cost of dismissing many things which absorb our attention and command our confidence. We cannot then despair, since we have seized the hope set before us, which is as an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast. (Heb. 6. 19.)

It was this outburst of hope which made springtime in the dead of winter, and in the garden of the Christian souls the flowers bloomed with rare beauty and fragrance. It is related by Rousseau that in the eighteenth century the Grandees of Venice welcomed a Spanish envoy, and in honor of the occasion they exposed their treasures on a high table in the Doge's palace. The Spaniard knew of the declining fortunes of the Republic and stooping to look below the table he said with rude frankness,

"Your wealth seems to have no roots." The wealth of the Church is preeminently in its spiritual resources, rooted and grounded in God the Impregnable, the Invincible, the Inviolable. He is not a God apart from life but in the midst of life, and yet beyond and above it. If he girds us, the odds can never go against us. The familiar lines of Clough are at once a rebuke to despondency and a reminder of the source of victory:

Say not, the struggle nought availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.

The declaration that things are in a deplorable case has the sound but not the sense of piety. It is the essence of impiety and a blasphemous slander against God and his Christ. It is an expression of cynicism, a more sinister foe of hope than doubt or despair. It poisons the springs of life and traduces the heroisms and fidelities of elect souls, and makes life "a story told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." It trades in regrets and panders to impatience, and its noisy speech is a futile attempt to hide its wretched bankruptcy and the poverty of its reserves. "The idea of a law of degeneracy," said Sir John Seeley, "of a 'fatal drift towards the worm,' is as obsolete as astrology or the belief in witchcraft." Would that this were so, but there are voices more vociferous than wise, proclaiming from seats of learning and influence, that "the myth of progress is our form of apocalyptism." These words of Dean Inge incline towards captiousness, and his volume of *Outspoken Essays,* for all its clever-

ness and brilliance, has more of censure than of confidence, in spite of his well-known advocacy of mysticism, which has always been the stamina of hope.

The fact of suffering cannot be denied, the presence of calamities and desolations need not be disguised, the travail of noble and ignoble alike cannot be explained away. But our attitude towards these discordant experiences must not be one of humiliating submission, as though what cannot be helped must be endured. It should rather be an attitude of acceptance, which recognizes the defeat but also sees beyond present disparities, and realizes in the light that breaks through the clouds tokens of a "presence that disturbs us with the joy of elevated thoughts," and strengthens us with the buoyancies and lambencies of uplifting hopes. We are therefore confidently persuaded that tragic misfortunes can be converted into agencies of deliverance. This is the heroism of hope that relies on the omnipotence of Love Divine, which wins in the last innings. It has no fear even though standing on the edge of the cliff. It has no qualms of conscience, for the despair of darkness is not in the heart. A character in Thucydides well said of hope, "She is a mistress by nature spendthrift. The man who harbors her knows her not till all else is lost, and she has left him no time to beware of her." This was the spirit which led a veteran warrior, celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon poem, the "Battle of Maldon," to say to his dwindling comrades, "Purpose shall be the sterner, heart the bolder, courage the more, as our strength lit-tleth." This was the conviction of the prophet in the face of desolation:

> For though the fig tree shall not blossom,
> Neither shall fruit be in the vines;
> The labor of the olive shall fail,
> And the fields shall yield no meat;
> The flock shall be cut off from the fold,
> And there shall be no herd in the stalls:
> Yet I will rejoice in the Lord,
> I will joy in the God of my salvation.
> (Habakkuk 3. 17f.)

Gloomy utterances about the failure of the Church have always been rife in times of disturbance. They abound in our day, and not a few in the Church are also guilty of this ribald

speech. We readily acknowledge that unworthy elements have stained and weakened the Church's influence, as martyrs and reformers abundantly testify. We are aware that her leaders have often been recreant and that half-heartedness and indifference are the bane of the membership. But when this is conceded, it must also be remembered that the Church has nurtured the flower of humanity and that multitudes of the devout and generous owe everything to her. No pledge was ever made by the head of the Church that the course of advance would be easy, nor was there any suggestion that the truth should be sacrificed for the sake of temporal power. The error of Constantine has been repeated in every age, and Christians have been loth to regard the Church as an institution apart from the world, and by the very fact of its exclusiveness being the more competent to serve the world for its redemption. The question to be honestly faced by the Church is, whether she will keep to the higher levels and make claims that command the obedience of the whole man for the sake of righteousness, or whether she will surrender her prerogatives and descend to a place among the merely humanitarian movements, whose horizon is circumscribed and whose help is limited.

The Christian contemplates a more resplendent hope. In thinking of "the glory that shall be revealed," his otherworldliness does not lead him to discount the duties of the present. Those who have rejoiced in "Christ the hope of glory" have devoted themselves to abundant labors, that the will of God might be done on earth as it is in heaven. Their hope did not induce them to cherish an anti-climax of catastrophe, as though the present order was hopelessly corrupt and must be ended rather than mended, to make room for a different order. This is like the gratuitous speculation of those who assume that Christianity will be superseded by something better. We hold that it is the absolute religion and that, while capable of progressive interpretation, it is God's last word to humanity. Jesus never despaired of the human race and his confidence in the spiritual capacities of the average person was justified by the responses he obtained from unexpected sources. His faithful servants who have ministered in the habitations of

cruelty did not yield to the pressure of godless circumstances, nor did they seek to escape from the doom, under the mistaken impression that the future of the secular order was incurably dark. There were doubtless some Christians whose behavior sustained the criticism of the Emperor Julian in the fourth century that Christianity was essentially pessimistic, because it encouraged a forward-looking hope beyond the grave, without regard to the obligations to transform the moral wilderness of the world into a garden of spiritual culture. This is the "spirit of fearfulness," which shrinks from risks and believes in safety first, and would hastily retreat from the conflict. The apostle rejoiced that such was not the temper of the Christian, but one marked by "power and love and discipline." (2 Tim. 1. 7.) Where this is present the challenge is accepted to let one's light shine in the dense darkness and to make the salt of Christian character the savor of life.

The dreamers and pioneers followed the gleam which led them to the dawn of the new day. Even where some failed to reach this destination, they were certain that they were on the right path and that those who come after them would reap the benefits of their arduous toil. "Somebody drew blank," said Dan Crawford, "when he said that Hope makes a good breakfast but a bad supper, for there is no throb of joy akin to the darkest hour merging into dawn." You feel this stir in Crawford's *Thinking Black*, a breezy narrative of labor among a people of sluggish mind and stagnant lives. But this genial missionary braced up his courage because he had the patience of hope, and his cheerful spirit was more than a match for fears and frets, which magnify difficulties and erect obstacles that paralyze initiative. Men of this heroic mold think of "impossible" as "a blockhead of a word." They accept conventional standards of ability with a large grain of the salt of humor, and meet opposition with serene self-possession. The very genius of their Christianity leads them to expect victory and so they estimate the forces of evil from the standpoint of the future and not of the past. They are certain that "evil is an essentially conquerable thing." Whatever may be its record, the seed of decay is in it, and its ultimate destruction is only a question of time.

In his *Stones of Venice,* Ruskin gives an elaborate description of the Ducal Palace. One of the figures on the Seventh Capital is that of Despair. "A female figure thrusting a dagger into her throat, and tearing her long hair, which flows down among the leaves of the capital below her knees." The inscription is *Desperacio Mos Crudelis,* and it aptly expresses what Ruskin well calls a vice. For its opposite we turn from the mediæval architect to the modern artist, and are inclined to linger before the great painting of "Hope" by G. F. Watts. The careworn pilgrim is seated on the summit of the world with a yawning abyss below and around. But all is not lost, and though the eyes are bandaged, the ears are open to the music of the spheres, as the figure lightly touches the last unbroken string of the lyre. In the distance there shines a lone star, whose luminous light unseen yet falls upon the desolate traveler. This is a picture of the inner vision of

> . . . Hope invincible, immortal,
> Through whom the stricken soul may yet descry,
> Far out beyond life's panic and mystery,
> The open doors of some celestial portal.

This then is the message to those who have toiled and lost; to those whose eyes are dimmed with grief; to the broken heart, the disappointed soul, the discouraged spirit; to the struggler against odds, the reformer of wrongs, the victims of disease, poverty, or cruelty; to the maligned, the exploited, the perplexed, the disillusioned; of youth or of old age. Humanity that has been crushed and brutally handled needs the assurance that there cannot be final failure. And this rejuvenating comfort is nowhere to be found except in "Christ Jesus our Hope." (1 Tim. 1. 1.) If his Advent in the Incarnation was the glory of the human race, the cold reception given him in age after age reflects shame on the sons of men, who are so blinded as not to know that this Divine Messenger is the generous Redeemer of all mankind. True men and women, whose goodness has mediated the radiance of light, to a desolate world, received their unquenchable hope as a gift from Christ. Apart from him it never could be possessed. Samuel Johnson said of Oliver Goldsmith, "He would be a great man if

he realized the wealth of his internal resources." Those who adventured into unknown and unwelcome places did so in reliance upon him. They were fortified against the fear of fear, and they anticipated the severe turns that would thrust them into panic or humiliate them by slights or insults, or disturb them by failure, disappointment, and loss. They realized the peril and absurdity of the gloomy temper and they knew that the Slough of Despond could be waded through without any serious mishap. They were sure of the foundation and were very much alive to the unseen realities of the spiritual world.

The dynamic of hope is what our age sorely needs. We are beset by skepticism and cynicism, and live under darkening skies. We have unwittingly got into the vicious habit of regulating our moods by the weather. But "he that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap." (Eccles. 11. 4.) We have lived too long in the malarial swamps of the valley. The mist has kept out the sunshine and shrouded the mountains. Is it not time for us to change our dwelling-place and remove where we can sun our souls in the conquering certainties of Christ? Organized Christianity is in the fires of trial; they are also the fires of purging, to burn up the incidentals which we have vainly cherished and to give greater luster to the elementals and the essentials, which were superficially assumed but not diligently appropriated.

This is not a time for impatience and regrets, but for "a more passionate, exultant, venturesome faith in the Gospel," and for an undismayed hope in the God of reconciliation, in whom all life can attain to equity, harmony, and unity. The summons to the Church of Christ is to assert reality, to espouse freedom, to proclaim fellowship, to practice righteousness, truth, and love, and to think more highly of men as capable of responding to weighty and worthwhile demands, in the name of the redeeming and regnant Christ. His day has dawned. His triumph is advancing. It can be achieved by the dynamic consecration and determined action of those who believe in his kingdom, and who live dangerously and laboriously to establish it even to the ends of the earth.

SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF EVER-GROWING FAME

Davis Wasgatt Clark
Boston, Massachusetts

The barometer in the world of letters indicated a rising interest in Dante as much as twenty years ago. The war stayed it, but happily did not set it back, and it is now mounting rapidly and high. The effort of the Roman Catholic Church to appropriate the great Florentine (as it has Columbus) after once trying to burn his bones, is not sufficient to account for this enthusiastic awakening to the charms of one who is and probably will always remain the world's primate among the poets, for the interest is not confined to ecclesiastical circles or Catholic countries. Nor is the approaching six hundredth anniversary of Dante's death, which the Church has called upon its communicants to observe, equal to explaining this ardent revival. Neither the calendar nor the Church is so powerful as that. Incidentally the Church of Rome canonized Joan of Arc last year and pays the highest possible tribute to Dante this, but in neither case confesses fault in the treatment of the saint and the poet while they were living. However, this is not said in controversial spirit, for Protestants themselves are not quite guiltless.

There is a subtle psychology in these cycles of world-awakenings which seem to be quite beyond control of organizations, however venerable or virile. Is it a hint of the unity of the universal human consciousness which acts as if it were one person when it is minded so to do? The whole civilized world halts in its busy arts and traffic, its politics and research; it mounts for the moment above the petty concerns of neighborhoods and social functions, and thoughtfully, joyfully, lovingly lays its wreath on the tomb at Ravenna.

The "Tercentenary" of those arch-Separatists, the Pilgrim Fathers, came to its climax on the anniversary of "The Landing" in an oration and an ode, both of which will take permanent place in American classics. In the midst of the festivities, which are

to be prolonged with questionable wisdom in view of danger of anti-climax, it should be remembered that three hundred years before the Mayflower sailed, even in the tenebrous thirteenth century, a voice was lifted in strong advocacy of the separation of Church and State. It detracts nothing from the luster of that Plymouth galaxy that it had such a morning-star as Dante. It is an open question whether in this instance the patriot Dante does not surpass even the splendor of the poet Dante. At peril of his life he resisted the determined effort of the Pope to make Florence a part of the Papal State. In the Council of One Hundred his vote still stands of record ("Dante Alighieri advised that in giving aid to the Pope nothing be done"). His first act as Prior was to confirm the sentence of the three Florentines condemned for plotting against the city in the interest of Boniface. A city exempt from the temporal power of the Church was his working principle. He said by action as well as by word, "Keep the crozier apart from the sword." He was held three months in Rome practically as a hostage and on his return, the Papal party having come into power, he was banished, his property given over to pillage by judicial action, and the penalty of being burned alive if he returned announced. His profound and patriotic treatise De Monarchia was publicly burned by the executioner and it probably remains upon the Index of forbidden books.

If the comparison of person with person is odious, the comparison of age with age is hazardous, but the likeness of the twentieth century with the thirteenth is apt to come to mind. The thirteenth: what a chaos! Guelf vs. Ghibelline, Black vs. White, Church vs. State, simony, treason, violence, wars internecine, international, interminable. The twentieth century: what a cataclysm! The world dreaming of universal peace, erecting a "Peace Palace" and International Court of Arbitration, is suddenly engulfed in a world war, with hellish methods of destruction, incalculable loss of life and property, leaving a serpent-trail across the earth, inconsolable grief, starvation, pestilence, insecurity, rumors of a propaganda against civilization, crowns in the discard, replaced by governments confessedly unstable, a fiercer tyranny taking the place of that which had fallen.

Is it strange that such somber conditions throughout the world lead to a recurrence of the emotional state known as pessimism, which is ready to say that sleep is better than waking, and death than sleep, that existence its very self is an evil, and describes the world as completing its orbit in the nothingness in which it began? A Spanish philosopher has just affirmed: "I am convinced that our civilization is about to perish the way earlier civilizations have perished. A long night of barbarism is coming." An English divine echoes this when he says: "An assured belief in progress is a nearly outworn form of optimism."

Dante was the supreme sufferer of a suffering age. He was no Spartan, hardened to a hostile environment; no stoic, oblivious to his personal indignities, losses, and pains. The deliberate effort for purely political ends to stain his character with charges of malfeasance in office cut him to the heart. He spent the last nineteen years in exile and poverty, and dying was denied an olive wreath and tomb in his native city, which he calls the most unkind of mothers.

The glory of it is that under conditions like these his reaction, spite of it all, was not toward pessimism. Quite the contrary. It was distinctly toward a Christian faith, which, if not joyous, was at least earnest, strong, triumphant. He had the vision of God, his Person, his Presence, his Providence.

> There is a Light above, which, visible
> Makes the Creator unto every creature
> Who only in beholding him has peace.
> —*Paradiso* xxx, 100ff.

That Primal Source is "Light intellectual full of love, love of true good, full of joy, joy that transcends every sweetness" (Ibid., xxx, 40.)

So this "mediæval miracle of song" leads not from dissent to assent, but starting with faith leads on to God, "treading from star to star to reach the almighty throne." The voice of Dante is freighted with a large and glorious message as it comes across the six hundred intervening years. It is more than a coincidence that his anniversary falls at a time like this.

The twentieth century may for the moment lay down its bur-

den at this thirteenth century cathedral door, enter, and kneel in prayer.

The tumult of the time disconsolate
To inarticulate murmurs dies away,
While the eternal ages watch and wait.

[NOTE:—*Onorate l'altissimo poeta*, "Honor to the loftiest of poets!" Such was the greeting given to Virgil by the assembled poets—Homer, Horace, Ovid and Lucan—as with Dante he enters Limbo. Then the pagan bards turn and salute the Florentine as one of their number: but it is to him, and not to the Mantuan, that such tribute would be offered by the singing voices of our modern world. It is not Virgil, but his sad-faced companion of the Underworld who has become the poets' supreme poet. No one can surpass Virgil in mastery of the inevitable word and the compelling phrase, but it is Dante who has made all nature, history, and life the poetic theme. For no other literary artist has brought to the creative imagination such a wealth of knowledge, united to such mental power, moral purpose, and spiritual perception. The "myriad minded" Shakespeare may have been more universal, but it is Dante who has annexed the invisible and made even the visible universe to burst into the bloom of spiritual significance. Heir, in common with his friend Giotto, of the celestial climate created by St. Francis a century before, he was the morning star that heralded the coming dawn of the Renaissance. Rigidly orthodox on the scholastic basis of St. Thomas Aquinas, his spiritual vision and moral fervor saved him from the perilous bondage of confessional and institutional religion. He was at once the most loyal lover and the most merciless critic of the church of his time. His heaven and hell are as compact of spiritual correspondences as those of Swedenborg, but far less crude in their poetic fitness. His visualization of moral and religious values in symbolic shapes is as vivid and far more lucid than that of William Blake, the English mystic.

Dr. Clark has most felicitously linked 1321 with 1921. Dante *was* a statesman as well as philosopher and theologian; but back of that he was always the poet. Such statesmanship the world needs to-day, which by practical idealism shall build out of the fragments of the shattered present the spiritual democracy of to-morrow. The Divine Comedy is in song what the great Gothic cathedrals are in stone. To-day calls for a poet of the deed who shall build society into the coming glory of the City of God. By September 14, the six hundredth anniversary of Dante's death, let us pray that the present wave of reaction shall have spent its strength, and the full tide of Universal Brotherhood have set in. —EDITOR.]

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE MAY DAY OF THE SOUL

Alexander von Humboldt, in paying tribute to the optical accuracy of the Bible in its descriptions of nature, calls especial attention to the one hundred and fourth psalm, that cosmic poem not of the past but of the ever-present Creation. And the very heart of that psalm is the thirtieth verse:

> Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created;
> And thou renewest the face of the ground.

So every year is a palingenesis, a fresh creation, in which, to use Browning's fine phrase, "God renews his ancient rapture."

There are two great books of God, his Word and his works, grace and nature, as set forth in the nineteenth psalm, and in each the mighty actor is the Spirit of God. On the first day of creation, according to Genesis, the brooding Spirit brought forth the beauty of light and order; on the last day the inbreathed Spirit gave God's image to the sons of God, the latest birth of time.

It is no accident that Whitsuntide comes so near May Day. For Pentecost is the festival of the new birth. Shelley sings of the west wind on whose wings is borne the life and joy of springtime; so the Holy Spirit is the breath of God, the agent of spiritual renewal. Let us learn some lessons from this May Day of the soul.

1. The Lesson of Life.—For life is the perpetual miracle, missed by most men in the monotony of the commonplace. Even all-knowing Science halts before the mystery of the living cell. This veil that hides the holy of holies of the creative might, no human hand shall ever raise.

All life is from above. As the ascending sun commands the spring breezes that rebuild the dead world, so from the Son of God, that Sun of Righteousness that conquered darkness and death on Easter Day, proceeds, as a "rushing mighty wind," the Spirit of God to create a new spiritual world. Life is everywhere the child of light. Creation begins with light and ends with life. All the energy that

quickens the seed develops the bud and builds up the plant, travels downward on railways of sunbeams. So with the music and the marvel of the spring rains; it is the golden voice of Life spoken out of the generous heavens that we hear when we listen to the "April showers that bring May flowers." Robert Loveman sings:

> It is not raining rain to me,
> It's raining roses down.

Dead souls live only as God sheds the sunshine of his love, the breath of his life, and the refreshing showers of his grace.

> Across the chill of winter's night
> There breathes a softness and a light;
> Bowed at thy feet, I cry to thee,
> Let it be springtime, Lord, to me!

It was while breathing in the fragrance of the May, after Russian winter with its frosts and fogs, that the young Tolstoi, debauched and dissipated, cried at his open window as he faced the burgeoning beauty of the spring: "I must become another man!" It is a picture of the final death of death, this yearly resurrection, when the black, bleak, barren earth bursts into beauty and bloom.

Death has his part to play in the world. Winter is the sleep into which God casts the earth, that he may extract a rib for a finer creation. It has a latent life at its heart. It began last autumn when the point of a bud formed at the axil of every leafstalk. But we must get rid of the dead things. Growing grass and swelling buds push away and cover the decaying foliage of the decedent year. May Day cries, "Clean up!" The Spirit is the *Holy* Spirit; he comes to purge as well as empower, to cleanse as well as quicken.

Sudden or gradual? Who can tell when winter ends and spring begins? Sometimes the new life comes as a crisis, and the year leaps at a bound from barrenness to bloom. More frequently the kingdom "cometh not by observation," but little by little, like the living year. The new birth is instantaneous, but its manifestation is as varied as the work of the wind "that bloweth where it listeth."

2. A Lesson of Love.—Spring is the marriage of heaven and earth. The sap of the soil rises to meet the sunlight of the sky in the crucible of the leaf, and thus flowers and fruit are born.

> And the Spring arose in the garden fair,
> And the Spirit of Love fell everywhere,
> And each flower and herb in the earth's dark breast
> Rose from its dream of wintry rest.

It is then that the heart hears the voice of the Beloved: "The winter is over and gone and the flowers appear on the earth . . . rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away." It is the mating season, when the voice of the turtle-dove serenades his brooding bride in her nest. Love, like life, is a spiritual gift; it, too, comes from above, and is "shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit," and then the heavenly Dove begins its birth song in the soul that answers "Abba, Father!"

3. A Lesson of Beauty.—The spring has its breezes, its voices, and its blossoms, and so has this May Day of the soul. Voices! the cooing dove—note of God's witness in the past. Earth is set to music in the May. There is something rhythmic about the rejuvenated year and the redeemed spirit. All the birds of God come to sing in the life. The New Song is the chorus of the whole being when all the inward powers join in a symphony of praise to his holy Name. Winter is silent; all sounds are muffled by snow and frost, but springtime is vocal. "Ye shall be witnesses" is the penetecostal program. If you have found no voice of testimony, perhaps yours is still a frozen heart. His refining fire shall melt the ice-bound music of the soul and fill the earth with the gospel's joyful sound.

And not only birds but blossoms! Arbutus, crocus—these first distilled colors and fragrances of the growing year; and then, the forest trees where "a million emeralds burst from the ruby buds," the cherry trees clad in angel's garb, white and glistening, the apple trees holding their pink and white against the azure of the sky—what spring openings of shops can compete with this loveliness? Diviner than all is the glory of character, the beauty of holiness, brought forth in the life by the Spirit's presence and power, culminating at last in the "fruit of the Spirit."

4. A Lesson of Hope.—Spring testifies to the fidelity of God to his covenant with Noah, that "springtime and harvest, summer and winter, shall not fail." When wearily we cry, Hasn't winter lasted long enough? then

> The Lord into his garden comes,
> The spices breathe a rich perfume,
> The lilies grow and thrive;
> Refreshing showers of grace divine
> From Jesus flow to every vine,
> And make the dead revive.

May is among the months what the Seer of Consolation was among the prophets, the preacher of "the restitution of all things."

"For as the earth bringeth forth its bud, and the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord Jehovah will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth among the nations." (Isa. 61. 11.) It is a promise of the redemption of nature as well as of man.

Can you stand among the graves on either Easter Day or Whitsunday and not feel the thrill of resurrection in the dust beneath your feet? For every May Day forecasts that ETERNAL DAY, where

> . . . everlasting spring abides
> And never-withering flowers.

THOUGHTS ON THE TRINITY

TRINITY SUNDAY, one week after Pentecost, is the climax of the Christian year. Here are some random thoughts, which may direct somewhat the meditations of that great festival.

The knowledge of God is the highest blessedness of man. The trinitarian conception may not exhaust all there is in God; he may be more than that, but it is the sum of all we know. With veiled faces, like the seraphs in Isaiah's vision, we stand before the inmost shrine of mystery, chanting the threefold "Holy, holy, holy!" The doctrine is peculiar to and fundamental to Christianity. The so-called ethnic trinities of pagan religions have nothing in common with Christian theism. While with the Jew we gladly confess the unity and chant the *Shema,* the creed of Israel, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God," our Christian faith goes farther, and all the great Catholic creeds, Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian, are framed in the trinitarian formula.

SCRIPTURE TESTIMONY

This is not proof in the formal sense. The Bible is not a textbook of dogma. It contains divine revelation as its informing spirit, but not in logical propositions.

The Old Testament is without any disclosure of the Trinity, save as it reveals a God, which no abstract theism can interpret. But the New Testament is alive with this triple rhythm. At what Mark calls "the beginning of the Gospel," the baptism of our Lord, we hear the Father witnessing to the Son on whom the brooding Spirit rests like a dove. At the end of his ministry, in the last words of Jesus

we hear the baptismal formula, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Every believer is met with the trinitarian mystery in Holy Baptism at the threshold of the kingdom. Paul thus states the nature of baptism: "The love of God our Saviour appeared, not for anything that we have done, but from his own mercy he saved us, by the washing that means regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit which he shed on us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour." Titus 3. 4-6.

This trinitarian rhythm is found quite frequently in the Pauline epistles in such passages as the following:

"There are diversities of gifts, but the same *Spirit;* of administration, but the same *Lord;* of operation, but the same *God,* who worketh all in all." 1 Cor. 12. 4-6.

"For through him (Christ) we have access by one Spirit unto the Father." Eph. 2. 18.

The great Pauline hymn on the eternal purpose of God, Eph. 1. 3-14, is divided into three strophes, each devoted to a statement of the offices of one of the divine Persons, and each ending with the refrain "to the praise of his glory."

To these may be added the more emphatic New Testament testimony—the recognition of the personality and divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as well as of the eternal Father.

A Rational Doctrine

There is mystery in the blessed Trinity, but not contradiction. God is not three and one in the same sense. A truth may be incomprehensible, and yet apprehensible. Most of the intellectual difficulties of Christian doctrine are quarrels about words, and grow out of the inadequacy of human language to express infinite realities. Every mathematician is constantly using unpicturable equations and formulas. Imagination is no test of truth. There are tribes that cannot count further than five; are their limited concepts a measure of reality?

A bald unity is an utterly barren conception. With one times one we can only get one though we multiply forever. Hegel says of such an infinite that it was like a dark midnight, "in it all cats look black alike." Goethe profoundly said, "God is not Identity alone, but Difference." The unity of God is a living unity, not a dead and dreary solitude. God is not sole, sufficient, and alone. Conceive of such a Deity—eternally solitary, subject without object,

consciousness without environment, righteousness with no sphere of right doing; before creation darkness, and after creation playing an endless solitaire with worlds for pawns.

The Trinity is a safeguard to Christian theism. Deism teaches transcendence without immanence; Pantheism, immanence without transcendence; but Theism joins transcendence to immanence in the divine nature. All depends on God's relation to his world. He knows himself as unconditioned, as conditioned, and as active and conditioning. All the fullness and variety of the universe have their root and reason in the divine fullness.

The Trinity therefore protects the personality of God. He reflects his own being. We finite creatures mark our personality by distinguishing ourselves from other beings, but God by an inward distinction. The Absolute Person is Triune.

The Trinity secures the divine Society. Was God love before creation? Is he love eternally? He knows himself as eternally thinking, loving, and acting. He eternally wills that he shall be life and love. In him we find the pattern of perfect and reciprocal love. The family has its archetype in the eternal nature of God. He is not only the eternal Individual but also the eternal Society—and so the social concept has its source in the divine mind.

The Trinity vindicates the moral character of God. Does God command because it is right, or is a thing right because he commands it? The Trinity reveals him as eternal Law, and eternal obedience. He not only decrees the right, but chooses it for its own sake. Within his being we hear the cry: "Lo, I come to do thy will, O God!"

The Trinity leaves God free, by rendering his life dynamic rather than static. So is solved that problem of paganism: Is there anything higher than God? Is he the slave of some inward necessity of his own nature? The Christian conception of God condemns the Greek conception of Fate, the *Kismet* of Islam; it removes the sky of brass above the heads of humanity, and reveals a sky of deepest azure throbbing with love and glowing with sympathy.

A Practical Doctrine

The final test of doctrine is its worth for living. The Triune God is the God of redemption, the God of personal experience.

It may have been a holy imagining by which Monsieur De Renty, the devout French friend of John Wesley, believed that he could inwardly distinguish this threefold fellowship. Yet noble souls like

Charles Kingsley have asserted, "My heart as well as my reason demands the Trinity. . . . My whole spiritual nature cries out for it."

The Apostolic Benediction thus states the order of the saving facts: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ," the way of the cross, is the way to the "Love of God," the consciousness that we are his children, witnessed by the indwelling "Communion of the Holy Spirit." We thus unbraid the cable of gospel truth into its threefold strands of light, love, and life.

Few sermons are preached on the Trinity, but Christian worship has always witnessed to the Triune God. That ancient confession of faith, the Apostles' Creed, recited every Lord's Day, gazes upward, and back of world and stars sees the Father and Maker of all, God, disclosed by nature as Creator; it looks backward through the years and beholds "his only Son, our Lord," God revealed in the central fact of history as Redeemer; its inward glance perceives the Holy Spirit, God possessed in personal experience, the Sanctifier. God above us, God for us, God in us—God revealed in nature, history, and life—God the center of natural religion, revealed religion and personal religion—God the Truth of philosophy, the Way of history, the Life of the soul—this our lips confess and our faith asserts in the threefold "I believe."

The church in its hymnology, from the Gloria in Excelsis, the Trisagion, the Te Deum, down to the latest lyrics of the sanctuary, has been

> Singing everlastingly
> To the blessed Trinity.

Worship forever finds its climax in the great doxology:

GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST; AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING, IS NOW, AND EVER SHALL BE, WORLD WITHOUT END. AMEN!

AUTHORITY AND INSPIRATION.[1]

PREACHING as a living force is possible only in an environment in which every mechanical device of confession and institution has been made mobile and fluid by the fusing fire of free thought. It is

[1] This article is an additional chapter in the discussion of Biblical Criticism and Preaching, begun in the January issue of the REVIEW. The next number will contain a further treatment of the subject under the title, "The Highest Criticism."

the appeal of person to person, of life to life, and demands a purely moral world in which authority takes the form of influence. A dogmatic pulpit is decadent in any period in which men realize their heritage of political, social, and spiritual liberty. The sermon is of little worth in a communion bound to the mechanism of sacramental grace, the inflexible mold of confessionalism, or the absolutist thought forms of a rationalistic philosophy. The decadence of preaching has always attended the corruption of the church. In those ages we call dark, the prophet gave way to the priest, and the sacrament supplanted the sermon. It is highly significant that in that absurd cult which rivals Islam as a book-religion and arrogates the title of Christian Science, the sermon has been superseded by the written code, and the preacher has given place to the "reader."

If Christian preaching is to survive the social and intellectual revolution of this age, it will be because of the new life given it by the free atmosphere of critical thought. Experimental religion has always handled Holy Scripture in this free way. Personal piety is always essentially pragmatic in its use of our whole heritage of institutions, doctrines, and records. This is the often forgotten secret of the sermon, that it seeks for immediate moral action rather than mere mental assent. The church verifies Scripture by preaching and applying it. It was not by any external proof of their canonicity or authenticity that the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians became a living word to the period of the Reformation, but the fact that they spoke to a need of the human conscience and won the response of a living trust in the saving Lord that they revealed. The truth of divine revelation upon the preacher's lips is not a proposition to be proved, or a doctrine to be discovered, but a Word to be done. His business is not to turn reality into abstractions of the intellect, but to be forever showing the life value of every revealing in God's Word and works. Every true preacher is always consciously or unconsciously a critic, and follows a genetic method, presenting truths in the order in which they arise in personal experience. Anthropology, with its disclosure of human sin and religious needs, will always precede soteriology, and the rich revelation of the triune God will be the crown rather than the commencement of his teaching.[2] Preaching stands solitary among all rhetorical performances and

[2] May we not expect that in the near future Theology will be treated inductively and treatises on Systematic Theology will follow the development suggested above. This is the program proposed by Professor Lobstein, of Strassburg, in his Essay on a Protestant Theology. It is also the method of the late Dr. Olin A. Curtis in his stimulating book, The Christian Faith.

human acts, as a voice out of the eternal verities spoken in the ears of time. This note of immediacy in the message of the preacher must always rest upon that in Scripture which is self-evidencing and not upon anything laboriously established by external credentials.

How, then, can the Bible be used as an authoritative norm in Christian teaching? This question is the very crux of the relation of criticism to preaching. Yet the answer is simple enough. Religion knows that God is revealed in the Bible; criticism has nothing to do with that fact, but only with the method by which the record of many and progressive revelations has been transmitted to us. "Every How?" says Aristotle, "rests on a What?" The fact of revelation is primary and makes a direct appeal to the religious consciousness; the method of revelation is secondary and can be discovered only by means of critical investigation. Indeed, the words "authority," "inerrancy," "infallibility," and the like, are words of dispute which usually would be better left alone by the preacher. If back of his message he feels the force of the thing itself, he can neglect the ambiguous names that men have given it. For the Holy Book and the minister's message are alike in this, that they have supremely the authority which they can win in their own right and not that which is given by any traditional theory or external credentials.

It is evident that the extra-confessional doctrine of verbal inspiration, with its implication of inerrancy in all sorts of statements, involving an authority applied *ab extra* to the human understanding and conscience, is a piece of intellectual immorality; and more, it is actual rationalism—an enthronement of the human reason above the moral nature of both man and God.[3] Without support in the Book itself, without any deep root in Christian antiquity or any warrant in the principles of the reformers, it was a very human device of the Protestant schoolmen of the seventeenth century to substitute the Book for the church as an objective authority for the delivery of dogma. Our Methodist doctrine of Sacred Scripture is essentially practical and not speculative; it emphasizes thus its worth for experience and living rather than for dogmatic deliverance. Thus the Articles of Religion declare that "the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation," and the General Rules contain an even stronger statement, both doctrinally and practically, when they assert

[3] It might be well for our generation to reread Bishop Butler's great chapter in the Analogy, "of our incapacity for judging what were to be expected in a Revelation."

of the written word that it "is the only rule, and the sufficient rule of our faith and practice." The Wesleyan revival was a real deliverance from the Protestant scholasticism which had succeeded in rejecting the actual Bible which Luther had liberated and Calvin had expounded, by casting it into their confessional molds. One high service of criticism is the recovery of the real Bible, whose warrant of inspiration, according to one of its greatest human authors, is that it is "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for amendment and for moral discipline, to make the man of God proficient and equip him for good work of every kind." 2 Tim. 3. 16, 17.

If great names are worth anything to the church, if there is any element of authority in high spiritual leadership or profound and devout scholarship, there is an unspeakable absurdity in our trying to see the Book of books through the spectacles of a lot of second-class men whose very names are mostly forgotten, the jejune theologians of the Post-Reformation period, who are largely responsible for the bald literalism and spurious traditionalism, which, working in a spiritual vacuum, have helped to smother the religious life. Their teaching gave rise to the deadest preaching the church has known in any age, save that of mediæval monkery, and has everywhere ended in a spiritual dearth only less disastrous than that caused by Roman error. This mechanical theory of Holy Scripture, which has tried to fasten upon the church the traditional dating and authorship of the sacred documents, is not itself a true, but a bastard tradition without the sanction of antiquity or even the support of ecclesiastical authority. No branch of the Christian Church, not even the seventeenth century confessions themselves (excepting a single Swiss formulary, the Helvetian Confession), has ever made the inerrancy in detail of the Bible an article of faith.

The fact just noted is of great significance; especially is it so to the preacher. He is not bound by his creed subscription to any theory of the composition of the sacred books which sets a limit on the most searching investigation of their problems and the freest handling of their contents for the purposes of religious edification. If ever there has been that "inspiration of superintendence" of which dogmatists talk so knowingly, surely it is in this significant fact, that the Holy Spirit in guiding the church into all truth has kept it from ever decreeing as doctrine a theory of the Scriptures which would have inevitably left them liable to the destroying touch of time and advancing knowledge. Surely, the prudence of the church in

this regard has not been without the leadership of the Paraclete promised by our Lord. He it is who has inspired the freedom of scholarship and the courage of the preacher. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," and there too the veil falls from the face of Holy Writ, and men see with open vision the Lord himself. 2 Cor. 4. 15-17.

There are two rationalisms neither of which must be allowed to invade the pulpit. One is the rationalism of speculative criticism, that mighty Nimrod against the Lord, the beginning and ending of whose kingdom is a very Babel of confusion; the other is even more subtly dangerous—the theological rationalism which forms an *a priori* theory of what would be a worthy revelation of God and then tries to force the Bible into the mold of its definition, instead of reverently asking what sort of revelation has God, in fact, given us? We have no right to dictate on what mountaintops of history or life God shall distill, or through what channels he shall gather the streams which at last shall form this river of life. The sermon cannot command the ways of the Spirit. This "wind bloweth where it listeth." The trim tape line of our logic shall never fathom the depths of life's great sea. We must avoid, on the one hand, the fallacy into which many scientific men who employ the genetic method fall, of assuming that we have explained anything when we have described everything, and the theological fallacy of absolutism that you can discover a set of formulas that account for all things. Scientific truth alike in the physical and spiritual realm is not a fixed quantum that can be measured, but a moving function of partly known reality, needing perpetual restatement with widening vision. It is not a land-locked pond, but a flowing river. Dogma is frozen truth. Ice is easier to handle than water, but has to be turned back into water before it can be used. There is a machine type of mind that prefers to skate on the icy surface of abstract proposition rather than plunge into the flood of religious reality; skating is easier and safer for most folks than swimming. (It is not so safe in these days when historical and scientific methods have made many thin spots in the skating pond of dogma.) Such men make excellent priests with their cold-storage system for the preservation of the past; they are not the prophets who see, and by seeing help to shape God's to-morrow.[1]

[1] On the whole subject of theological rationalism and the intellectual disease of dogmatism see the very instructive discussion in F. C. S. Schiller's Formal Logic: A Scientific and Social Problem, pp. 400–405.

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

In addition to the references given in the previous numbers of the Review, there are valuable homiletic suggestions in Milligan's Elijah, His Life and Times, found in the Men of the Bible Series. The most brilliant and really exhaustive treatment of the despondency of the prophet is the great sermon by Frederick W. Robertson. But the best preparation of all is to bring to the personal study of Holy Scripture the insight born of devotion, which at once selects the spiritual values and sees their adaptation to present needs.

"Why Art Thou Cast Down, O My Soul?"

There is a wonderful humanness in Bible biography. Elijah, like other Scripture heroes, is a man of like passions with ourselves. In him we have at once the fervent and the faithless, the confessor and the coward. The prophet of fire, exulting in the victory of Carmel, is not so near nor so helpful to us as when, despondent and despairing, he lies exhausted and dejected beneath the pink blossoms of the desert broom.

Does it seem strange that panic should thus seize a strong soul? There is an agony of desertion and depression which little, mean spirits cannot know, which comes to hearts that "nobly loathing, strongly broke." Let us not think less of him that the hero of Carmel is no longer a hero, a demigod, but sobs like a tired child and longs for death. The awful strain of more than three years relaxes. The soldier is often unnaturally strong in the fight, only to be utterly prostrated afterward. There is something exhausting about all strong emotion, such is the subtle sympathy of soul and body. For happiness is partly a matter of temperament and partly a matter of health. Much melancholy poetry, pessimistic philosophy, and gloomy theology has been born of nerve strain, biliousness, and indigestion.

He also suffered from lack of sympathy. "I, even I, only am left." Loneliness is a part of the penalty of greatness. It is only the small souls that crowd each other in life. Saints must often be solitary. Strike against the current of public opinion, tell a decaying society of its rottenness, a worldly church of its falsehood, speak forgotten and unwelcome truth, and you will soon be lonesome enough. Isaiah sees a solitary hero in blood-stained garb, who proclaims, "I have trodden the wine press alone," and our Lord cries on his cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And Elijah had

found that a moment's popularity is not love or loyalty. Men applauded the miracle, but did not reform their lives. The fickle people did not rally around the prophet. Evil when once rooted in habit, interest, or fashion, cannot be conquered by a "hurrah!" And so life seems in vain. The history of great lives is an epic of seeming failure. So with "the blameless king" when disenchanted of the noble dream of his life:

> He walked with dreams and darkness, and he found
> A doom that ever poised itself to fall,
> An ever-moving battle in the mist,
> Death in all life, and lying in all love,
> The meanest having power upon the highest,
> And the high purpose broken by the worm.

He could not flee from God, and it is well that he told God all. There is no better road out of the castle of doubt and despair than to talk it over with God. He honors frankness and will meet it with his answer of healing. First, God restores the physical strength of his prophet by the administration of nature's two great sacraments, sleep and food. That gentlest nurse and sweet restorer, balmy sleep, soothed his hurt body and brain and restored the nervous balance. Then came the angels from heaven's kitchen and cooked him a good meal.

Next, God reveals to Elijah the true secret of power. The prophet had trusted too much in outward things, in the fire and furnace, the sword and the scepter. His hand was red from the slaughter of pagan priests. Not thus can the heart of a nation be transformed. If we think that winning the World War has really conquered caste and crowned democracy, we are doomed to disappointment. A Holy War must follow the wicked war. Only the Kingdom of God can bring true brotherhood. No reformation is secure that does not touch the inner life. He is led to that holiest shrine on earth, the mount of God, perhaps to that very cave whence Moses had glimpsed the vanishing glory of Jehovah. "And the Lord passed by;" before him marched three heralds, earth, fire, and air, in the horror of the earthquake, the terror of the thunder storm, and the wild fury of the tornado. Not by these is Jehovah's presence manifested, but in the silent breath that follows the storm. It is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord." The strongest forces are the gentlest; such is the cross of Christ; there is nothing so frail, but it is the mightiest thing in the universe.

God gives him assurance of success. He was not really alone; seven thousand are with him. God gives him something to do; action is the best antidote to despair and doubt. God gives him companionship; henceforth Elisha shall walk beside him and he shall learn that no one man is necessary to the work of God and that no one soul can see the whole of the heavenly plan. So he who fled to the desert with the moaning complaint of the dove, returns to his task with the aspirations of an eagle.

Weakness and Wickedness

"All wickedness is weakness," so sings blind Samson in the solemn drama of Milton. Ahab, king of Israel, is a classic example. He was not wholly weak as a king, but was shamefully weak as a man. He is now at the summit of his royal power, and resting from victorious war in his splendid summer palace on the heights of Jezreel in the midst of his magnificent park. And yet he is not happy, but sulks and sighs amid the splendor. What ails him; has he been bereaved, or defeated in war? No; he is merely miserable over something he does not have. A bit of land, belonging to his humble neighbor, Naboth, would perfect his park, and Naboth refuses to part with his possession. He cannot separate himself from the graves of his ancestors and the memories of his childhood. Mere sentiment! And what right has a poor man to have sentiment? Besides, the law discourages the alienation of ancestral estate; God is the only proprietor in Israel. Ownership is a trust not to be transferred.

Ahab's discontent might have poisoned his own life only but for the stimulus of a stronger will than his own. There were noble possibilities in him; he was a warlike, progressive, ambitious monarch, who happened to have just enough conscience to make him miserable. He cowers before the strong-souled Elijah and supinely submits to the strong will of Jezebel. His evil genius was the imperious energy of the "cursed woman." There is nothing weak about her; she is used to his sulking, and knows how to deal with it. Does he cry for the moon? He shall have it. Yet here we find the only relieving feature in the character of the wicked queen. False to others, she is true to herself and to her own. There is a fierce tenderness about her that will go to any length for those she loves. The subtle woman becomes almost magnificent in sin. "Are you playing at being a king? Let me show you how we do things in Phœnicia;

I'll get you the vineyard." So potent may a passionate woman be for evil.

With hideous craft the hypocritical plot is planned. Does Naboth plead the law? He shall have his fill of it. So she looks up the code of Jehovah and becomes very pious for once. There must be no coarse, rude methods, such as David used with Uriah; all shall be done in due legal form. When some people talk particularly pious, watch them—they are just waiting the chance to do something mean. "A snake straightens to go into his hole." The tools are not wanting. The sheiks of the town are time-serving hypocrites, whose fawning readiness to do the queen's dirty work shows how far corruption had gone in Israel. She knew her men, the priestly farce is played out, the deed of blood is done, and Naboth and his heirs, judicially murdered, lie outside the walls of Jezreel. Jezebel looks almost superb beside the contemptible sneaks that worked her will, but Ahab shuts his eyes, asks no questions, and tries to enjoy in quiet his unrighteous spoil.

Do you think that tyranny and injustice have the best of it in this world? Let us turn to God's side of the balance sheet. His prophet is on hand to plead for and vindicate private right. There is no evil like the perversion of justice. *Summa jus, summa injuria.* Those were noble words of Lord Brougham in his speech on chancery reform: "How great shall be the sovereign's boast that he found law dear and left it cheap, found it a sealed book and left it a living letter, found it the patrimony of the rich and left it the inheritance of the poor, found it the two-edged sword of oppression and tyranny and left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence."

To-day the prophet of God needs to be the apostle of social justice. Corporate greed will denounce him as a Bolshevist if he stands for this industrial democracy which is demanded by a strict application of Christian ethics. But the sin of materialistic socialism which is ruining Russia is the doctrine of class war, which Marx preached and which organized capital and labor too often practice.

"Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?" so cries the remorse-smitten king as Elijah, his incarnate conscience, comes with the message of condemnation and doom. Ahab cannot shirk the responsibility; neither can we for all the outrages wrought by corporate greed or legalized wrong. The king, walking in the fool's paradise of his new possessions, was not one whit more guilty than all of us who share the profits of licensed wrong or enjoy the cheapened product

of the sweatshop. He had not paid for his vineyard, but he will pay, and so shall we. No man ever makes anything by injustice, for God at last will send in the bill. There is an Invisible Spectator who comes on the stage in the last act of the drama. Ahab is a stricken man; hideous phantasms haunt him; the leaves of his stolen vineyard whisper with awful and ghostly voices. The dynasty of Omri goes out in blood. Yet, can we not hear over all, not only the voice of vengeance, but of the divine and infinite mercy?

> What though evil seem to prosper? 'Tis the good alone is strong;
> And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
> Troops of beautiful tall angels to enshield her from all wrong.

The Coronation of a Life

"A man is immortal until his work is done." So it was with Elijah. At last his work is done—all that God had for him to do. He had not failed but had dealt a death blow to paganism and laid the foundations on which other prophets could build and blazed the way for the great prophets of the eighth century and the later reformation under Josiah, king of Judah. He has a monition of departure and feels like a bird the impulse toward the land of summer. No more shall that strange wild figure flit across the land between the king's palace and the mountain side.

> "I hear a voice you cannot hear,
> Which says I must not stay;
> I see a hand you cannot see
> That beckons me away."

The lesson of Horeb was not lost on the prophet. The forces of evil are not conquered by assault but by siege. And so his greatest work seems to have been fostering prophetic schools, that when his lamp went out other altar fires should be kindled in the temple of God. The only permanent reformers are trained men; Peter, the fisherman, may be the evangelist of Pentecost, but it is Paul, the scholar, who constructs the lasting fabric of Christian thought and discipline. The Holy Spirit is teacher as well as inspirer. Evangelism and religious education form the dual program of the church. Neither can wholly succeed without the other. This was Elijah's wisdom, and at the ancient sanctuary of Gilgal, and that sacred shrine of Israel, Bethel, there gathered hundreds of fresh young souls who should have again the dream of Jacob and learn the will of Jehovah.

There is something very beautiful in the Bible picture of the passage of the prophet from place to place and his quiet farewells to these heirs of his task. Drawn upward by cords of love and aspiration, he lovingly, tenderly undoes his earthly ties, cuts anchor, and is free to fly. Only one, Elisha, goes with him to the last, down by way of Jericho, city of palm trees, across Jordan, to where on those hills where his earthly life was spent he takes leave of earth for heaven. About him the mountain peaks grow splendid with flaming light, gleaming heralds of the coming glory. A guard of honor comes from the celestial country, a battalion from the cohorts of the Heavenly King. Wind and fire—the great pentecostal symbols—they have attended all his way and now they take him home. Sense can only see the storm cloud and the flashing of the lightnings, but faith sees the blazing chariots of the upper country and the steeds of the Eternal. "He maketh winds his angels and flaming fire his servant." Elijah has walked all his life, now he will ride. The man hunted and persecuted by earthly monarchs is received and honored by the King of kings. No other life of all the sons of men has received such a coronation. Like Enoch and Moses, with whom alone he can be compared, he vanishes from earth in the majesty of mystery and the marvel of miracle. Yet the record is common of all God's saints, "Our people die well." Christmas Evans shouts, as to an unseen charioteer, "Drive on!" and Alfred Cookman exults on his death bed, "I am sweeping through the gates, washed in the blood of the Lamb."

"God buries his workman, but carries on his work;" no great cause dies with its representative. At the funeral of Jabez Bunting, a lugubrious orator lamented: "The sun of Methodism is set," and a sane voice shouted from the audience, "Thank God, that's a lie!" We cannot, indeed, inherit character, culture, or brains. Elijah cannot himself bequeath his spirit to Elisha. Some things are not of human transmission but of divine gift. The test by which Elisha may know is that of spiritual insight. And he has his wish. Through rending sky and cloud, through terror of blinding flame, he catches a glimpse of his translated master. He has dared the awful vision, and at his feet falls the symbol of inherited power, the rough mantle of the ascended prophet. If we can glimpse the glory of a great life, we have entered into some inheritance of its greatness.

Elijah teaches the supreme worth of consecrated manhood to a nation. He was, indeed, what Elisha called him, "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

"God is with the strongest battalions?" No, unless you mean by the strongest those who have the noblest characters and the holiest cause. God give us leaders and statesmen who are greater than guns and bigger than battle ships! "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" "Jehovah liveth," is his message, true for every age. Let us take up his watchword, and, with no craven heart, defy, in the name of a living God, the corruption of custom and the tyranny of time.

THE ARENA

VENI, CREATOR SPIRITUS

WHY do we use the line in Pope Gregory the Great's hymn in the Consecration of Bishops and in the Ordination of Elders,

"Who dost thy sevenfold gifts impart"?

We believe in and teach but *two* sacraments, Water Baptism and the Lord's Supper, whereas Roman Catholicism believes in and teaches that there are *seven*, namely, Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony.

Expressions in our Article of Religion XVI, such as, "partly grown out of the corrupt following of the Apostles. . . . Have not the like nature of Baptism and The Lord's Supper, because they have not any visible sign . . . were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or carried about," clearly is an allusion to the other five so-called Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony. But in the line from Pope Gregory I, by implication, we accept them at least as poetically licensed for the special use we make of it. We should either doctor this line, or all language of Article XVI which clearly repudiates that line, for the sake of liturgical consistency. This is doctoring a dead Pope of fourteen centuries, but we ought to be able to do it for sweet consistency's sake at least! Or, is my mental obliqueness of the "seven-fold gifts" real or imaginary? In my present condition what do I desire? More light on this liturgical usage! Otherwise Veni Creator Spiritus is a deep and soulful Hymn and we can heartily join in

"Praise to Thy Eternal merit,
Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

Tower Hill, Ill. S. R. RENO.

[The Veni, Creator Spiritus has been wrongly ascribed to Pope Gregory the Great. It did not find a place in the Roman Ordinal until a later date. Notker, who introduced sequences into the Latin Liturgy, is said to have sent his sequence on the Holy Spirit to the Emperor Charles the Bald, grandson of Charlemagne, who responded with this great Latin hymn. The germ of it, however, is attributed to Hrabanus Maurus Magentius. Since then it has been used not only in the consecration of bishops

and presbyters, but also in the coronation of kings. The phrase sevenfold gifts does not, at least primarily, refer to the seven sacraments, but to an ancient Scriptural interpretation of the phrase the "seven spirits of God," found several times in the Apocalypse. This was doubtless based on the apocalyptic vision in Zechariah of the seven-branched candlestick whose lamps were fed by seven pipes from the olive trees before the Divine Presence. This the angel explains as the "eyes of Jehovah which run to and fro through the whole earth," with this additional emphasis, "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith Jehovah of hosts." Another passage, Isaiah 11. 2, has been given a similar exposition as teaching a sevenfold activity of the Holy Spirit. In the very able, if somewhat fanciful, System of Biblical Psychology, by Franz Delitzsch of Leipsic (1855), there can be found a very elaborate treatment of the subject. The above comment of Rev. S. R. Reno will have been of use if it leads to a more careful study and understanding not only of the phrase criticised but of the entire ordinal.—EDITOR.]

THE BETTER COVENANT

SUGGESTED BY CERTAIN RESERVATIONS IN THE LAMBETH PROPOSALS

Granted, their "Petrine Succession,"
Choose *we* the Pauline confession
Of our Christian liberty!
Not in bondage to the letter,
Nor to Pope or council debtor,
There's a broader view, and better
In the truth that makes us free.

Fain I would this ancient fiction
Kindly limn with daintier diction,
And its purple vesture spare;
But its haughty claims, egregious,
Tempt a gesture sacrilegious,
In rejoinder frankly fair.

Luther fearlessly renounced it,
Wycklif, Calvin, Knox denounced it—
Protestant in heart and soul!
Recreant to all they taught us,
Basely blind to all they bought us,
Shall we seek another goal?

Anglican or Greek or Roman,
Prelacy was e'er the foeman
Of the Church's largest life;
What is catholic and golden
Ne'er was to its pride beholden,
In the Gospel's generous strife.

In Earth's tragical transition,
Mock us not with superstition—
Freedom's death and Faith's despair—
Yearningly our hearts turn homeward,
But, God help us! never Romeward;
Naught but bonds abide us there.

Sure, at last, of Truth's calm scorning,
Ghosts must pass, with mists of morning;
Lo, the sun ascends the sky!
In a faith far less elusive,
In a hope far more inclusive,
Be it ours to live and die.

"Grace of holy orders?" Truly!
And transmitted, doubtless, duly
Through the Spirit's quickening breath;
Power divine with mercy mating,
And the age anew creating
Underneath the ribs of Death!

But that gift, direct from heaven,
Not for class or caste was given,
To withhold or to bestow;
But through prayer and consecration,
Chosen souls, of every station,
May the mighty wonder know.

Wesley's burning zeal retrieved it!
Coke and Asbury received it!
Stewards of the grace divine;
In their faithful hearts they wreathed it,
And with holy hands bequeathed it
To a new and nobler line.

Great heroic souls enthroned it!
Lincoln, Grant, McKinley owned it—
Grateful for its blessed cheer;
And unnumbered spirits lowly,
Now in heaven with all the holy,
Held its benediction dear.

Grace *in* "holy orders," rather,
Be our prayer, O Righteous Father,
As we serve in Jesus' name;
Ministering in his compassion
After apostolic fashion,
Hearts aglow and lives aflame!

Showing here our heavenly calling,
In the bonds of love enthralling,
With all saints our souls unite;
O divine, eternal Spirit,
Let us all in thee inherit,
All partake thy life and light!

Let us see in one another
Christ's own likeness, friend and brother,
For in him we all are one;
His dear Cross our only altar,
May our faith and love ne'er falter,
Till his will on earth be done.

Be it our supreme ambition
To fulfill our common mission,
In the Gospel's widening sway;
And, in ever closer union,
Be our hearts in blest communion,
Looking for his glorious day.

In distress the world is calling,
Scepters fail and thrones are falling,
Want and woe are wide abroad!
Heralds of the great salvation
Promised every land and nation,
Let us find our strength in God.

Though with darkest night surrounded,
On the Rock of Ages founded,
Stands his cause, unmoved, secure—
Sin and Death and Hell assailing,
Christ's sure kingdom, all prevailing,
Shall eternally endure!

Buffalo, N. Y. BENJAMIN COPELAND.

ALEXANDER WHYTE—APPRECIATOR

NOT since the death of Charles Haddon Spurgeon has the passing away of a preacher been mourned so universally as that of Dr. Whyte of Saint George's Free Church, Edinburgh. The secret of his extraordinary influence was his vital personality. He was unequalled in analyzing sin with incisiveness and in proclaiming with a wealth of imagery, pellucid thought and clarified style the marvel of salvation in Jesus Christ. His series on Bible characters and Bunyan characters, his exposition of Thomas Goodwin and all his other utterances invariably dealt with the perplexing need of the human heart, the opulent supply in the Saviour, and the glowing realities of Christian experience.

His volume, entitled Thirteen Appreciations, revealed his genuine catholicity. He subordinated the ecclesiastical and theological differences and fallacies of the mystics and saints in his purpose to stress the more important fact of their experimental knowledge of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. Dr. Whyte had a canny way of picking out permanent values and leaving the ephemeral to deserved oblivion. And this was due not to an eclectic but a catholic taste for whatever had excellence and merit according to high Christian standards.

He was a conservative, but he had such confidence in truth that he was hospitable to progressive thought. When his friend, Professor Robertson Smith, was being tried for heresy, he pleaded with the General Assembly not to be shortsighted and panic-stricken. "Of all bodies of men on the earth, the Church of Christ should be the most catholic-minded, the most hopeful, the most courageous, the most generous, sure that every movement of the human mind is ordered and overruled for her ultimate establishment, extension, and enriching." (Life of Robertson Smith, p. 431.) Would that this principle had been accepted!

All who knew Dr. Whyte intimately were impressed by his superb qualities as a bookman. He derived constant pleasure from books, new and old, always commended them and ever kept an eager watch for the latest and best. No wonder he never grew stale. He was ceaseless in exhorting young ministers to work and to believe in work. This was not a counsel of perfection, for he himself was a prodigious toiler in preparation for the pulpit. His Bible Class, which met on Sunday evenings, was a notable institution. I have before me the program for the winter of 1910-1911 on "Some Evangelical Classics and their Authors." Its scholarly thoroughness and fullness are a marvel, and those who attended these meetings were highly privileged.

It was, however, in the art of appreciation that he excelled. He had quite a genius for it. Sir James M. Barrie says that "wherever there were fine things he was the man to dig them up." Dr. George H. Morrison, one of his early assistants, writes: "Such generous praise, such notes of gratitude for some brief address, such costly volumes handed me in memory of trifling services—it was absurd; and yet it made one long and resolve and vow in secret so to live as to be worthy of it all." Dr. John Kelman, speaking for himself and Hugh Black, says: "The only difference we ever had with him was that by all sorts of subtle ways he thrust us forward into any prominent or desirable position which he himself was expected to take, and we had to watch him for this, and circumvent his too great generosity."

Truly, he was a great heart with face fronting the future, confident in the yet larger triumphs of the Church. Generous in his sympathy, magnanimous in his encouragement, chivalrous in his friendships, the minister of Saint George's Free Church, who was also Principal of New College, Edinburgh, laid down his armor on January 6, at the age of eighty-four years, leaving a legacy that will certainly enrich the Church of this generation.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

BIBLICAL RESEARCH

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES IN DALMATIA

THE historian, the archæologist, and the artist find a never fading interest in the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Until recent years it has received scant attention from the tourist. It was just about the time of the opening of the Great War that the traveling public began to awake to the charm of the beauties of this region, with its hundreds of islands, land-locked bays, bold headlands, astonishing fiords, rugged mountains, quaint cities, frowning fortresses, remains of old Roman roads, traces of the architecture of the waves of conquest which have swept over the country, and the scattered fragments of early Christian churches. Cutting a historical section into this region down through the centuries the strata revealed are Roman, Byzantine, Hungarian, Venetian, and Austrian. Rome until 476; under the Byzantine Empire down to the arrival of the Hungarians, 1102; contested by Hungary and Venice down to the final occupation by Venice, 1409-1420; under the Venetians down to the fall of the Venetian Republic, 1797; incorporated with Austria down to 1918. As you travel through Istria and Dalmatia the presence of Rome is evidenced by Roman roads, Roman inscriptions, and Roman ruins. The Byzantine influence is everywhere in the curiously carved capitals in many of the public buildings. The hall mark of Venice is seen in the conspicuous campanile, the winged lion of Saint Mark, the beautiful arcade, the delicate window tracery, the graceful loggia. Austria has splendidly improved the roads and built up fine harbors. The ship brings up to massive stone quays, instead of putting off the passengers in small boats, as in most of the levantine ports.

Passing along the coast of Istria from Trieste you may discover, from the ship, a chain of quaint cities, each with its slender bell tower and its picturesque group of buildings. At the extremity of Istria you arrive at Pola, which before the war was the great Austrian naval base, with its floating docks and arsenals and assembled ships of war. Quite on the edge of the shore rises majestically a huge Roman amphitheater, capable of holding 20,000 spectators. It is in a perfect state of preservation. A few rods inland are the remains of a Roman temple. After a seven-hour sail across the broad gulf of the Quarnero, from Pola, you touch the coast of Dalmatia, at the busy city of Zara. No longer are chains thrown across the mouth of its fine harbor, as at the time of the crusades. Its ancient walls have been levelled and in their place is a broad promenade. Passing from Zara down the coast of Dalmatia the ship glides into a sort of inland sea, skirted by many beautiful islands, each with its tiny village and light house crowning a mass of surf-beaten rocks, and bearing marks of having been fortified.

The cities of Dalmatia are little more than names to the western world—Zara, Ragusa, Sebenico, Trau, Spalato, Cattaro—but each has a proud history, with its own remains of ancient life and its marks of hav-

ing participated in the struggles which have swept this coast for nearly two thousand years. In the Medieval period Ragusa, with her substantial navy and her merchant marine, was a rival to Venice. Spalato, beautiful for situation, is the focus of much historical and archæological interest. Cattaro, at the extreme of Dalmatia, lies at the bottom of a deep fiord, with her fortress rising a thousand feet up the mountain and proudly shows her monuments, which record a victorious fight with the Turks. This little city occupies a narrow ledge between the Montenegrin mountains and the "Bocche di Cattaro," which is one of the finest natural harbors in Europe. It was in this deeply secluded gulf that Austria had her submarine base during the war.

The hinterland of this region—Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Albania—present to us a civilization in which Orient and Occident meet. The bazaars remind us of Cairo and Damascus. In Mostar and Sarajevo the eye meets the campanile of the Christian Church and the minaret of the mosque. These restless Balkan states have for generations been a storm center of southeastern Europe, and we are not likely to forget that pistol shot, fired at Sarajevo in 1914, which set the world in flames.

The beginnings of the Christian Church on the Adriatic coast are involved in much obscurity. Tradition associates the region of Venice with Saint Mark, whose body is said to have been brought from Alexandria and deposited on the present site of the Church of Saint Mark. Ravenna is said to have been evangelized by Saint Apollinarius. The impressive and beautiful basilica of Saint Apollinare is the splendid monument to his memory. When we come to the eastern shore of the Adriatic the first allusion to this region is found in the New Testament where Paul writes: "From Jerusalem unto Illyricum I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ." We know that Dalmatia was in the ancient Illyricum, but we have no account of Paul's visit except this general allusion. It has been claimed that the apostle actually did evangelize Dalmatia and that his shipwreck occurred not on the island of Malta in the Mediterranean but on an island of the same name, Nelita (the present Meleda), in the Adriatic. There is, however, no support for this conjecture. We do have a positive statement that Dalmatia was visited by Titus. In writing to Timothy Paul states: "Demas hath forsaken me, having departed to Thessalonica, Crescens to Gaul, and Titus to Dalmatia." It is safe to conclude that Christianity was introduced into Dalmatia some time in the latter part of the first century. Some Christian remains brought to light in recent years are as old as the second century.

Our chief interest at this time centers in the city of Spalato and the region round about. It is situated on a broad peninsula between the Gulf of Salona and the Gulf of Brazza, and backed by majestic Mount Mostar. It is the largest city in Dalmatia, with a population of about forty thousand. One of the first buildings which meet the traveler as he alights from the vessel to the stone quay is the sea front of the ancient palace of the Roman emperor Diocletian, who was born in this vicinity and returned to it when he abdicated in A. D. 297, declaring he would rather

raise cabbages at Salona than rule at Rome. He built on the shore his extensive palace covering nearly ten acres. With its solid walls, its massive gates, its colonnades, its arches, its courts and its temples it was a remarkable structure. Four miles distant on its fine bay lay the city of Salona, a great Roman metropolis and the seat of a large Christian community. The last and the most severe of all the great persecutions directed against the Christians was that by Diocletian, who did not spare even the place of his nativity, but dragged the priests from the altars, killed the worshipers, razed the churches, and did all he could to wipe out the Christians who in their rapidly augmenting numbers and influence were becoming a menace to the empire.

Upon the peace of the church the Christians of Sanol rebuilt their churches, sought out the remains of their martyrs, and placed them in special localities in the cemeteries, partly above ground and partly in the crypt of the church.

For more than three hundred years the Christian community at Salona must have flourished, yet we know from church history almost nothing concerning the development of the church in Dalmatia. In the year 639, when the Avars swept over the country, the noble metropolis of Salona was destroyed. The destructive zeal of the vandals extended to the Christian community and to the large open-air cemetery, where they ruthlessly broke open the huge stone sarcophagi, doubtless in search of treasure, leaving but few of the great stone coffins which were not literally reduced to fragments. The city, with its walls and gates and towers, with its baths and shops and houses, with its temples and amphitheater, was practically ruined, and the inhabitants fled to the neighboring coast towns or to the islands. Many took refuge in the old palace of Diocletian on the shore, which, in spite of its three hundred years, afforded them substantial shelter. They built a city within the palace walls. Thus by one of the revenges of history the very palace of the Christian-hating emperor became a Christian city, and the temple of Jupiter, sometimes called the tomb of Diocletian, was transformed into a Christian Church, while the neighboring temple of Æsculapius became the baptistery of the church. The city they called "Spalato," from "palatium," palace. It is now a flourishing city, the largest in Dalmatia. Long ago its growth spread beyond the palace walls, but the old palace is clearly seen, though fairly smothered by modern houses, which hem it in on all sides, except toward the sea, where the old sea front with its blackened Corinthian columns greets the traveler.

Salona ruined and abandoned became soon covered up and overgrown by vegetation. Until toward the middle of the last century it was a forgotten city, when, under the auspices of the Austrian Archæological Commission, the excavation of the site was commenced. Up to the opening of the war the director of the work of excavating was Professor Monsignor F. R. Bulic, an archæologist of fine ability, worthy to stand beside the brilliant De Rossi, to whom the world owes such a debt for our knowledge of the Catacombs of Rome.

For ages the ruins have been ransacked. Splendid marbles and mo-

saics have been carried off to Venice and other Italian cities. As far as Vienna and Pesth the plunder has been carried. Italian governors have rewarded their friends with shiploads of the costly marbles of Salona, while the surrounding villages have made use of the ruins as a quarry, searching for stones to build their houses. In spite of the fury of the barbarians, the ruthless greed of the wealthy and the spoliation of the peasants, vast remains awaited the spade of the explorer, for here was located a metropolis of the Roman world more than a mile each way. Up to the outbreak of the war the work was progressing steadily, but I fear the new State of Jugoslavia into which Dalmatia, by the treaty of Rapallo, has become merged, will have but little money to bestow upon digging up the remains of a civilization two thousand years old, when all available funds are needed to save the present civilization from the destructive tendencies let loose by the war.

The ruins of Salona are reached by carriage, four miles from Spalato, the road passing through a very fertile country, and for some distance along ancient aqueducts which are still in use. At first glimpse the excavations present a confused mass of irregular and unrelated fragments of walls. Gradually, under the guide of the director, one discovers the outlines of the several structures, the theater, the amphitheater, the baths, shops, residences, various public buildings. The Christian churches might be at first mistaken for temples, until a near view sets forth the Christian structure. There are remains of two large churches. Near the north line of the city wall are the ruins of a fine basilica, measuring 165 by 85 feet, with three naves, transepts and narthex. The baptistery, which is unlike any known to Christian archæology, was first uncovered. There is a large octagonal room, the roof of which was supported by handsome columns. In the side walls were semi-circular niches. There were two anterooms, one for disrobing, the other for the ceremony of Chrism. Over the font was a canopy supported by four columns of red marble. The fort is a rectangular basin below the floor level, reached by marble steps. Hot and cold water was supplied by pipes. In the anteroom devoted (it is supposed) to Chrism is a perfect mosaic floor presenting the picture of two stags drinking from a font, with the Latin text of Psalm 42. 1: *Sic cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum sic desiderat anima mea ad te Deus.* The rite of baptism in this locality was evidently administered by immersion, but three hundred miles north, among the Christian monuments of Aqueleia, baptism by aspersion is indicated. When I was there the central nave had not been excavated. Fragments of the large columns which had supported the nave were lying about. The mosaic floor of the ambulatory, worked in graceful figures, was in perfect condition. All inscriptions, statuary and removable decorative features remaining had been removed to the museum at Spalato.

About three hundred yards north of the city wall and hence outside of the city we come to the Christian cemetery, with the ruins of its cemeterial basilica and the large and impressive remains of the massive stone sarcophagi, which distinguishes this as the most remarkable of all the open-air early Christian cemeteries.

We notice, as we enter the ruined gateway, an inscription—*Coemeterium legis sanctae christianae in predio Aesclepiae.* By this we are to understand that this cemetery was in the estate of Aesclepia, a Roman matron. According to tradition it was through her influence that the bodies of many of the martyrs were recovered after the fury of Diocletian had subsided and by her that the chapel was erected. An examination of the foundation reveals that the church was evidently built over the remains of an earlier structure. The outlines of ten mortuary chapels, in the crypt, may be traced. These were the localities sacred to the martyrs of Salona, while outside were the family vaults and individual sarcophagi of the people. Professor Bulic thinks there is discovered here the remains of a basilica dating about the close of the second century. He distinguishes three epochs in the structure.

The appearance of this great "God's Acre" is very impressive. Several graceful Corinthian columns of the Basilica are still in position. The floor is torn away, revealing the crypt with its vaults. All around lie scattered over a wide area broken fragments of sarcophagi. Here and there is seen a huge sarcophagus, but slightly damaged, bearing a Greek or Latin inscription. For the vast body of inscriptions found here we must go to the Müseum at Spalato, which is the repository of more than two thousand. These have already found their place in that great treasure house of Latin epigraphy, The Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Many are clearly Christian, though not so often associated with Christian symbols as is the Christian epigraphy of the Catacombs. The extreme simplicity of some indicates a very early date. The elaborate character and length of others suggests a very late date. A few are in hexameter. The Latin is of the provincial type. The Greek inclines to the Ionic form. The interments doubtless ranged up to and included a part of the seventh century.

Near the apse of the latest church and beneath the floor we come across an interesting tomb in three compartments, marble slabs of fine workmanship, making a most solid vault. Here, according to the inscription, was buried with two other martyrs the original Domnius, martyr of Diocletian and first Bishop of Salona. If, as some hold, Domnius was martyred under Trajan he belongs to the second century. Nearby is the sarcophagus of his nephew, the Bishop Primus, who, according to the list of the Bishops of Salona, served somewhere between 304 and 370 A. D.

Another monument of great interest was a huge "bisomum," or double sarcophagus, with inscriptions in Latin hexameter, to Constantius and his wife Honoria. The epitaph to Constantius is rather an official inscription. The one to Honoria, in its flowing hexameter, is a beautiful tribute to a noble wife and mother. We read that Constantius was an ex-proconsul to Africa. He had served the empire in an important position. We know that in 27 A. D. Augustus divided with the Senate the care of the Roman provinces, retaining under his own direction those which were of military importance and sending out to them men of senatorial rank, with the title "pro-consul." This entitled him to write after his name the letters V. C. (Vir Clarissimus), which duly appears in the

inscription. We learn further, from the inscription that he served after the consulate of Gratian, who was one of the officials entrusted with the care of the public festivals and also a man of equestrian rank—(*Post cons D[omini] N[ostri] gratiani Aug III et equitius*). Here is fossil history. *Avg III* leads to the fact that the "*Augustales*" were a class of municipal magistrates established by Augustus and that they were divided into several orders. They were entrusted with the giving of public games and festivals. Gratian was a member of the third class. The title of "*Equitivs*" tells us that Gratian was a member of the knightly order. Admission to the order of knights in the early days of the empire depended not only upon birth and the possession of 400,000 sesterces but also upon the presentation of the knight's horse, indicating that he was a suitable person to become a member of the equestrian troup. So, with pride the knight wrote after his name "*Eqvitivs.*" In the fourth century in Rome, after the days of Constantine, many of these customs fell into disuse, but they appear still to have remained in Dalmatia.

We are enabled, by the mention of the consulate of Gratian, to date this monument, for turning to the list of the Roman consuls we find that Gratian served in the year 374 and is named on the list "Gratianus Equitius."[1]

Turning to the inscription of Honoria we read: *Constanti Conjvx Honoria.* "Honoria, wife of Constantine." She is described: *Mater Parvorvm.* "Mother of little ones." And further: *Dvlcibvs eximie carissime semper et una.* "To her sweet ones exceedingly dear and always the same." She died very young, at thirty years of age, *Conples terdenos qvae vitam vixerit annos.* She was honored by being buried in the locality sacred to the martyrs—*Adscita Martvribvs.* The lines close with the statement that this *Consòrtia Dvlcis*—sweet wife—was buried on the seventh kalends of April—*Deposita VII Kal. Apriles.*

The monument to this distinguished couple and the massive sarcophagi in this early Christian cemetery lead us to infer that this Christian community was one of wealth and importance, greatly contrasting with the mass of tombs in the Catacombs at Rome, which are largely of the poor. The latter part of the fourth century in Salona was a period when the Church was expanding under the aegis of the state, growing in influence and commanding the attention of leaders in social and political life. It would not be unusual, therefore, to find among the members of the Christian Church distinguished Romans such as Constantius and Honoria.

One could linger indefinitely among the fragments of this forgotten city, fascinated by the glimpses secured of the life and faith of the elect of Salona. The unfolded history contained in these monuments would fill volumes.

We can but hope that the work of excavation in this region will not stop, though Austria's sad collapse has brought to a close the work of the Austrian Archæological Commission. One result of the war, however, tends to promote archæological research by opening up localities from

[1] Marruchi. Epigraphia Cristiana, p. 274.

which the explorer has been practically debarred. Now that Britain is in control of Mesopotamia and Palestine it means a free hand for the explorer in those regions closed by the Turk. The hundred "tells" in Palestine are awaiting the coming of the man with the spade, and the unexplored mounds of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley promise rich returns.

La Jolla, California. AMOS WILLIAMS PATTEN.

BOOK NOTICES

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The Old Testament in the Life of To-day. By Rev. JOHN A. RICE, A.M., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in Southern Methodist University. Pp. xxxiii+320. New York, The Macmillan Company.

THIS is a very interesting book, in its contents, and scarcely less so in its place of origin, for it comes out of the Methodist Church, South, of which there are still some who think only in terms of a rigid conservatism. This book is certainly not conservative in its attitude to Old Testament criticism, for it goes much farther in some particulars than do all the Old Testament students in the sister church in the Northern States. I have not the pleasure of knowing the learned author personally, nor have I any acquaintance with his history, save that he acknowledges obligations in his preface to Professor J. M. Powis Smith of the University of Chicago, surely one of the best and ablest Old Testament scholars in America. There is sufficient internal evidence to lead one to draw the conclusion that Professor Rice owes much to him, though it is not suggested in such a way as to make Professor Smith responsible for form, method, or individual views in the book. It is difficult to classify the book in any of the ordinary categories. It is not an Old Testament Introduction in the technical sense, nor is it, properly speaking, what the Germans call Literaturgeschichte. Rice has gone his own way with eyes fastened rather on practical usefulness than on judicial sobriety, on a certain winsome persuasiveness more than on scientific precision, for the book was plainly intended to win its readers to a view of the Old Testament Scriptures not commonly held among God's people, and none too widely disseminated among their public and accredited teachers. Disclaiming all positive knowledge I should nevertheless be disposed to say that the author had preached much, that perhaps he had been bred a preacher, rather than a teacher, and still more than as a scholar. He is never quite content to set down his conclusions about the origin and composition of a biblical book in some simple factual matter, but goes on to give some modern, and often illuminative, parallel, or to quote some modern verse, or to exhort. This will enhance the book's value, making it easier to read, and sometimes serve to take the sting out of what the ordinary reader may think a severe judgment. The book proposes to set forth the orderly development of the Old Testament books in six parts, thus,

I. Beginnings, discussing the poetic fragments now embedded in the canonical books, and going on to longer poems, songs, parables, primitive codes, and pre-prophetic narratives. II. Prophecy and the Prophets, from the pre-prophetic movement under Moses and Samuel through Amos to Isaiah of Babylon. III. The Priest and his Work, comprising the codes, the final editing of the Hexateuch, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles, Esther, and the Psalter. IV. The Sages and their Philosophy, including Job, Ruth, Jonah, Song of Songs, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. V. The Text and the Canon. That is a comprehensive program for a book of this size, and I am glad to say it is well done, and to recommend the book for popular use. The book is founded on a philosophy of Scripture which is thus stated: "Morals and religion, then, are the peculiar and exclusive theme of the Bible, but this does not imply that the Bible is a system even of morals and religion. It is the record of revelations made by God of Himself to the Hebrew people, setting forth the meaning and value of existence, the providential purposes and redeeming efforts of God. These revelations were not primarily of truths or even of truth, but of himself, of a person to persons" (p. xvi). This is sound and well said, as are also the concluding words, "This marvellous collection of booklets, more than half poetry, mostly anonymous, seeks no defense, shuns no attack, asks only that we test the pledge it brings of God's saving and satisfying touch upon the human spirit, and venture upon its promise of a world redeemed through Jesus Christ our Lord, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (p. 320).

There is perhaps no need to express differences, doubts, or disagreements with the author of such a book. He represents, by and large, the views now held by the great majority of serious students of the Old Testament. But these views are subject to caveats, revisions, dubieties in sundry places and need not be regarded as essential to the salvation either of scholarship or of the individual intellect. There is no need of an infallible Pope in O. T. scholarship, and Rice would surely not set up for one, still less would his distinguished teacher, Professor J. M. P. Smith. I may be allowed then to say that I should be bold enough to urge a different conclusion upon some points, and should be glad, perhaps in an excess of caution, to have others stated differently. Thus, for example, I do not like the rather summary dismissal of any personal claim of Moses to the Decalogue in Exodus 20. Rice seems of the positive conviction that "the literary peculiarities and historical references, as well as the general background suggested in the Pentateuch, point to a much later period for its composition" (p. 5). I cannot agree, and much prefer the cautious statement of Driver (Exodus, p. 413ff.). The whole question indeed is of a wider issue which has been discussed by Montefiore, Kamphausen, and especially by Marti and Burney, as to what was the character of Mosaism as a whole. The discussion by Rice of the composition of the Psalter is very well done, and I was quite interested to see that he has hit upon a treatment very similar to that which I have long used in classroom lectures, but have never published. I am, however, not of his mind about David's possible contribution to the book. This he dismisses without dis-

cussion. It is true that we cannot produce proof that any of the Psalms were written by David and can only argue that there is nothing in certain Psalms which *forbids* the ascription of them to the king. Better than Rice is the statement by G. Buchanan Gray, "There are Psalms in the Psalter of which, if we may remove certain parts as later interpolations, a residuum remains of which it would be unjustifiable to assert that it was not written by David." But I have written too much. There's a place for this book, and may good fortune attend it.

Drew Theological Seminary. ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The Personality of God. By JAMES H. SNOWDEN, LL.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary. Pp. 145. The Macmillan Company.

What and Where Is God? By RICHARD LA RUE SWAIN, Ph.D. Pp. 255. The Macmillan Company.

The Religion of a Layman. By CHARLES R. BROWN, Dean of the Divinity School, Yale University. Pp. 84. The Macmillan Company.

The Power of Prayer. Being a Selection of Walker Trust Essays. Edited by the Right Rev. W. P. PATTERSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Pp. 528. The Macmillan Company.

PROFESSOR SNOWDEN has roots which go deeply into the theological past. He is not ashamed of it. Indeed he is proud of it. He lives in the twentieth century and he writes of James and Bergson and H. G. Wells. But his heart is with the ages rather than the age. Or to put it better, his heart is with the age as one views it in the light of the ages. He knows that personality is the one matter of fundamental importance, and he believes that the one perfect expression of personality is to be found in the life of God. It is easy to see that he is ready to fight like a knight in armor for this one citadel of the mind. He has read much literature as well as much theology, and his style has a touch of warm luminousness which comes from these literary friendships. He thinks logically and does not go out of his way to find an unusual framework for his thought. If at times he is conventional in his treatment it must also be said that at times he rises to a very noble eloquence which is based upon close and clear thinking. Once and again he quotes Professor Borden P. Bowne, and it is evident that his own mind has been quickened by that doughty thinker. The chapters on The Personality of God in the Light of the Modern World and on The Value of Personality will most completely rouse and stimulate the reader. In the midst of the restless confusion of much contemporary thinking there is something not a little refreshing in this product of a poised and steady mind, very much aware of all the tossing waves, but riding in serene confidence above them all.

When you pick up Dr. Swain's book at once you plunge into the tempest. It is nothing if not vital. The style is full of dash and energy. The author has infinite assurance which would sometimes arouse the antagonism of the reader if Dr. Swain were not so simply and nobly sincere.

He goes crashing through the underbrush and really prefers to go running over a dangerous mountain trail even if a broad safe road has been carved out for the feet of travelers. This is a book for intellectual adventurers. There is always the arresting phrase and the unusual approach. Everything which the author knows he has made a part of his own experience, and he pours forth his message with the warmest eagerness. He loves science, but he remains an evangelist at heart. His science is all the while set to the music of his evangel. There is a good deal of Christianity which he has never seen. His attitude toward Jesus would scarcely have satisfied Athanasius. And some of the things which he believes that he sees most clearly may not turn out to be true. His certainty that the heavenly universe will be the very universe in which we are now living is delightfully interesting and reveals a rather extraordinary innocence of some very usual philosophical considerations. But for all this the book is more than arresting and more than stimulating. One feels that he would like to know the author and that he must be a very wonderful pastor. It is rather good fun to be picked up by the hair and carried off through the sky and then brought back home, and all without suffering the least bit of hurt. And under everything else it is deeply good to be in contact with so finely noble a spirit as that which breathes through all the pages of this book.

Dean Brown is crisp and keen and virile. He does not jolt the everyday mind, but he does stimulate that mind in a notable fashion. His little book is a shrewd and wisely practical exposition of those words of Jesus commonly referred to as the sermon on the mount. The man who is afraid of mysticism and wants something solid of which he can lay hold with a firm grasp will at once welcome this book. It has a fine sanity, a wholesome perspective, and a good and satisfying moral earnestness. It might be described as a book without frills. There are no end of keen phrases, as when Dean Brown refers to "the professional smile which shows more teeth than soul." There are words of fine and incisive insight as when we are told: "One thing is secure, one thing a man is never compelled nor allowed to leave behind him, and that is himself. He takes his own qualities of mind and heart with him wherever he goes. That very fact becomes at once his highest reward or his sorest penalty." You feel when you come to the end of this little book as if you have climbed to the top of a hill where the view was nobly beautiful, the air clear and clean, and the sun shining with a stimulating radiance, while a breath of invigorating coolness completed the attractiveness of the day. The book is full of good feeling and good sense, and good, wise words.

In 1916 the Walker Trust of the University of St. Andrews offered a prize of one hundred pounds for the most widely helpful essay on prayer. The competition aroused wide interest and 1,667 essays were received. These essays represented every possible standpoint except the repudiation of the very idea of prayer. Nineteen of them are published in the volume, The Power of Prayer. There is also a most significant analysis of the whole series of essays by the editor, and a final chapter of general observation growing out of the inspection of the larger group of

discussions. At once it must be said that this volume ought to be on the desk of every Christian minister. Beginning with the prize essay: "Prayer —Its Meaning, Reality, and Power," by the Rev. Samuel McComb, D.D., Canon of the Cathedral of Baltimore, Md., each study is packed with interest, and some of them are marvelously rich in spiritual suggestiveness and a certain gripping power. It would have been well had less space been given to what may be termed the less typically Christian forms of prayer, but even here the studies written from the standpoint of theosophy and Christian science and the mysticism of the far east have their own interest and often suggest fresh and stimulating points of contact with the great theme. But the real value of the book is found in the witness of the more characteristically Christian utterances which disclose a ripe and rich knowledge of the meaning of the life of God in the soul of man. Many of the essays discuss the difficulties both speculative and practical which stand in the way of the man who would go forth on the high adventure of prayer, and often these matters are considered with a sympathy and a wisdom which must prove welcome and helpful to many a reader. The whole book has an impact which is most impressive. You feel long before you have come to its last pages that you are dealing with one of the great forces of life. You are awed and humbled by the greatness and the far-reaching meaning of the theme. Of course, in such a varied approach and with such manifold views there is much which the discerning reader will read without indorsement and once and again he will find that a particular author leaves him cold. But it remains splendidly true that the book is a lofty testimony to the place of prayer in an age which we would hardly describe as an age of faith. One begins to suspect that the inarticulate faith of the world is more widely diffused and more potent than one had supposed. And as one comes to the last page he feels that he must enter the laboratory for himself.

Detroit, Mich. LYNN HAROLD HOUGH.

The New Light on Immortality, or The Significance of Psychic Research. By JOHN HERMANN RANDALL. Pp. x+174. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The Future Life, Fact and Fancies. By F. B. STOCKDALE. Pp. 111. New York and Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press.

FOR the Christian believer there can be no new light on immortality apart from the Living Light, who "hath abolished death and brought life and immortality to light in the gospel." Psychic research is significant as a study of abnormal psychology, but it is not a channel of divine revelation; that comes through the Mediator and not through mediums. Personal acquaintance with the present Living Lord makes all the so-called light from spiritistic seances seem like the luminous fox-fire that glows from rotting logs in the forest, or the *ignis fatuus*, mere glimmering gaseous exhalation from stagnant swamps. Not gibbering ghosts but the eternal word is the supreme source of spiritual revelation.

F. B. Stockdale's book is a fresh morning breeze to clear these malari-

ous mists away. He shows the essential materialism of the "spook" business, and with critical clarity constructs a true spiritual philosophy of Christian certainty as it comes to the solution of the problems of unspeaking death.

PRACTICAL AND HISTORICAL THEOLOGY

The Pulpit and American Life. By Arthur S. Hoyt. 12mo, pp. x+286. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.50.

Progressive Religious Thought in America. A Survey of the Enlarging Pilgrim Faith. By John Wright Buckham. 12mo, pp. x+352. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, $2.

The American pulpit has an honorable record during the three hundred years since the Pilgrims arrived. It has been one of the strong social forces in national life, and its teachings have permeated and influenced all our activities. The spirit of individualism has been a source of strength and weakness. It has often found expression in eccentric forms, as seen in the one hundred and sixty-five denominations competing with each other and making more of the differences than the unity of the Faith. In the early days this individualism had much to do with preventing any church from becoming dominant, but its unmodified continuance has been a barrier to the progress of Christianity. It can be overcome by comprehension without compromise. This is one of the urgent tasks before the American Church.

The dream of organic unity will not be realized, and its benefits are of doubtful advantage. The prospects of harmony and federation are, however, more hopeful. To this end we need to understand the distinctive contributions of each of the churches. Professor Hoyt has an illuminating chapter on this subject. The Congregational pulpit has emphasized the intellectual aspects of truth and its preachers have been essentially teachers. The Baptist pulpit, true to its traditions of individualism, has made much of the freedom of teaching with loyalty to truth. The Unitarian pulpit has softened the dogmatic spirit and introduced the element of humanness. The Methodist pulpit has been distinguished by evangelical zeal and fervor. The Episcopal pulpit has related the sermon to worship and modified individualism through the historic and social spirit. The Presbyterian pulpit has made conspicuous the teaching power of preaching. These types are bound to be modified by each other. Indeed, the process is already going on with mutual benefit to every one of them.

The chapter on "The Present American Pulpit" is critical and appreciative. One criticism is worth quoting: "If we think of the modern American pulpit as a whole, it does not seem to have an overmastering and compelling sense of message." This is explained in part by the fact that we have placed "less reliance upon the thorough grasp of the truth and more trust in brightness of speech and attractiveness of person." This thought is more fully expanded in Professor Hoyt's earlier volume on Vital Elements of Preaching, particularly in the lecture on "The Sense of Message." The whole volume should be carefully studied since it deals

with some of the strategic features of effective preaching. His latest volume is a searching analysis of the work of the Puritan Preacher, of Jonathan Edwards, Lyman Beecher, W. E. Channing, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks and several of those whose voice is still heard from the pulpits of our land.

In comparing the sermon of to-day with that of fifty years ago, he remarks: "The present sermon has more practical thinking, if not so much speculation." We can understand what this means if we turn to Professor Buckham's volume which excellently supplements that of Professor Hoyt. We learn from its chapters that the American pulpit has been a notable factor in the development of theological thought. The Introduction celebrates our indebtedness to the immediate past. It is an appreciative estimate of the ministry of such liberators as Bushnell, H. W. Beecher, Channing and Brooks. A much needed plea is made for a larger use of the treasures of literature for the humanizing of theology. In this connection, we are reminded of a remark in the letter of Principal Denney. It was made by his wife, who shrewdly observed: "James, I think your preaching style has greatly improved since you took to reading those French novels." It was one of Dr. Denney's contentions that a want of style prevented theological books from reaching the first rank. Professor Buckham is equally explicit, and he illustrates his argument from theological writings which might be ranked as literature and those which failed because of a pedantic and technical style.

The men who are honored in this volume stand in the front rank as pulpit thinkers. When we hear impulsive remarks about the decadence of the pulpit, it is well to remind ourselves and the rash critics, that the progress made in theological thought in America has been due to the preacher rather than to the professor. T. T. Munger, George A. Gordon, William J. Tucker, Washington Gladden, Newman Smyth are thought of as preachers. Their books were the outcome of pulpit work and reflected not only their own ability but that of their hearers. Among the later representatives of theological progress mention is made of Lyman Abbott, Amory H. Bradford, James H. Whiton, William DeWitt Hyde, Elisha Mulford, W. P. Du Bose, Charles Cuthbert Hall, Milton S. Terry and others.

The true apostolic succession of the prophets of the pulpit has not been exhausted, nor are there indications that it will be. The concluding chapter on "The Future of Theology" suggests some of the lines along which advances should be made. We need the intimate study of religion as a whole, and we must take account of the nature and contents of religious experience, of the results of religious psychology, of the marvel and might of personality. We should also be released from scholastic and conventional conventions in our doctrines of God, of Christ and of humanity. "So far from being a decadent science Christian theology is yet in its youth." The noble past holds the promise of a better future, and we are justified in looking to the American pulpit for the leadership demanded by this new day. We shall not be disappointed.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Medical Missions—the Twofold Task. By WALTER R. LAMBUTH, M.D., F.R.G.S. Pp. 262. Published by the Student Volunteer Movement, 1920.

MEDICAL MISSIONS! That chivalrous service of science to soul deserves more publicity than it generally receives. Too often the missionary physician is not possessed of pulpit power, while the pressure of his science demands that he spend his furlough delving in laboratories and clinics, hence his message is often unspoken.

Fortunate it is when one so gifted as Bishop Lambuth appears to lift the pen in praise and appeal for his work. Himself a medical missionary for fourteen years in China and Japan, Bishop Lambuth has not allowed his later burdens as Missionary Secretary and Bishop to lessen his interest in the missionary physician and his task.

William H. Welch, M.D., LL.D., in his introduction shows that in spite of his scholastic caution, he has caught the author's contagious spirit of admiration for the man and his task. He says, "No intelligent and sympathetic observer who has had opportunity to come into close personal contact with medical missionaries in their field of work can fail to be stirred by the spirit and character of these devoted men and women and to be impressed with the development of the finest traits of heart and mind and with the large service which they are rendering to their fellowmen and with their joy in this service."

'Tis a fascinating story that the spending and spent lives of these men and women give, and the fascination of it has been beautifully caught in this brief text. The pure daringness of the deeds is flung at you in the opening lines as with vivid narrative the author introduces us to the great need in mission fields for the ministry of healing.

Here it is:

"A low caravansary lies before us in a rude village of Asia Minor. In the dim light of a sputtering candle two figures are silhouetted bending over a third. The first is Dr. Henry S. West, of Yale, missionary of the American Board, passing through the village after a hard day's journey on horseback; the second, a frightened servant ready to faint at the sight of blood; the third, a poor stranger, in the same inn, exhausted and ready to die from the anguish of a strangulated hernia.

"Was there any hesitation? The light was miserably poor, the assistant was incompetent, no anæsthetic was at hand and there was every chance of sepsis developing. The doctor could not speak the language—it was his first year—and if the patient died who could explain the odds to the dark-visaged, scowling Turks standing back there in the shadow? But West had come under Divine orders. Moreover, he was a Yale man and Yale sees it through. And, finally, was not this a fellow-creature suffering unto death? There was no hesitation. An incision, a swift dissection, a release of the strangulated viscus, a compress wrung out of hot water, a few stitches, a simple dressing, and the work was done." These graphic incidents, well selected, pique the reader's interest throughout the book.

In the chapter "The Missionary Himself" the author gives us one of the most succinct statements of the rationale of the miracles of the missionary physician that we have seen. He quotes Dr. George E. Post, of Syria, who, with that modesty characteristic of so many missionary physicians, explains his achievement in one of his remarkable cases by saying: "It is not a miracle of mine, only a miracle of modern science, and modern science is a miracle of Christianity." The wonderful hand of the skilled physician is but one of the wonder-children of modern science; and what is modern science but one of the miracle-children to which Christianity has given birth. And so breathing out through the pages of this book is felt the pervading power of Christ as the dominant force and motive of all this achievement.

Other topics dealt with cover the purpose and the preparation of the medical missionary and the challenge for service found in the appalling medical needs revealed in Mission lands to-day.

A special chapter is devoted to the special phases of "Woman's Work for Woman." In many non-Christian lands men physicians obtain very reluctant access to the bedside of the higher class women sufferers, and unless women physicians are available, the poor sufferer frequently drags out her miserable existence until death relieves her. Superstition, too, seems to seek out with peculiar persecution and make more wretched still the sad lot of women.

Dr. Christie tells of a sad case in his experience in Manchuria where "madness, epilepsy, and extreme hysteria are usually regarded as being caused by devil possession. Without any inquiry into the origin of the condition, most cruel methods are resorted to in order to drive out the evil spirit, such as forcing the patient to stand on red hot iron, and there is always a severe and merciless beating. A girl of seventeen was brought to me, evidently a case of extreme hysteria. The witch doctors, after trying several cruel methods without success, had finally thrust a red-hot poker down her throat to expel the demon. The girl died shortly afterwards." Fortunately not only is the work of American and European women physicians bringing a blessed relief to these sufferers, but the years of sowing the seed of the Gospel have produced national women among these Oriental countries, who have come into advanced position among their fellow countrymen as women physicians and scientists, pioneers in the art of healing.

The great field of the nurse is duly, though all too briefly, considered. This is the day when the great function of nursing skill in the healing of disease has reached a degree of appreciation hardly dreamed of in the days when Florence Nightingale began her humble tasks. The great power of the social nurse in her visitation in the homes and the amelioration by education and practical example of the causes of disease is just now beginning to be felt by Missionary Societies and a great future awaits this form of missionary service.

The ample appendix contains some rather unusual information that should prove genuinely helpful to those who are preparing for this phase of missionary work. Here are some of the subjects covered:

"What are the qualifications of a candidate?" This question is carefully elaborated upon and similar questions troubling the mind of the prospect in medical volunteer service. World statistics of Medical Missions are given in detail. A summary of the findings of some of the great conferences regarding Medical Missions is one of the features of the appendix. Then there is an interesting summary of the legal regulations of various mission lands regarding the practice of medicine and finally a list of the medical periodicals published in English in various mission lands.

This book will be found of exceptional interest for mission study classes. Every medical school in the country should maintain such a class. Every Young People's Society could spend with great profit to themselves and the Church eight evenings in the study of Bishop Lambuth's vivid narrative and gripping appeal. J. G. VAUGHAN.

The Rise of Methodism in the West. WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. Pp. 270. Methodist Book Concern and Smith & Lamar, Nashville.

CHURCHES are apt to be careless in preserving the data of their history. The more absorbed they are in making history the less likely they are to keep up their archives. A district superintendent, excusing himself for lack of interest in the memorial to Francis Asbury, Methodism's most historical character, said: "We are too busy *making* history to give attention to the history of the past." One might ask, what is the use of making history if it is not worth remembering? Of priceless value is the history which Francis Asbury made and preserved in his Journal. He did not know how the humble beginnings of Methodism in America were to develop; but he conscientiously jotted down each day's events in their setting, giving us an incomparable picture of himself, his contemporaries and his period. We have not lacked able historical writers, like Stevens and Bangs and Buckley, to follow the broadening stream from its source in trickling brooks to the boundless sea of the future; but they had the early data of Francis Asbury, George Bourne, Jesse Lee, and itinerant biographers as guides. There is nothing like a sharp difference over a single point to quicken interest in History, and the comparatively unimportant question whether Embury or Strawbridge was first in preaching and organizing societies and erecting church edifices has long been a matter of discussion. Bourne looked it up more than a hundred years ago and gave the result of his investigation in favor of Embury. But though General Conferences and Disciplines have uniformly pronounced for the priority of Embury, it is still a disputed question and as such cannot ever be regarded as finally settled, so long as the possibility of discovering new data is open. Professor Sweet has put in print for the first time the manuscript Journal of the old Western Conference, the first beyond the Alleghenies, covering the period from October 4, 1800, to October 1, 1811. At the first session of the Western Conference, held at Bethel Academy, Kentucky, ten were present, including Bishop Asbury and Bishop Whatcoat, who had been made bishop that year in Baltimore. Those were the days of small things in the West. The conditions were pioneer, rude huts

and living, homespun garments, plenty of hard work, and little money. The cabins had no floors and oiled paper served in the windows instead of glass. Worse than all were the filthy houses and beds. These were a trial even to Bishop Asbury, accustomed as he was to rough conditions. The itinerants wore the common "linsey-woolsey," but with a difference in cut and shape. They had straight-breasted coats, high-standing collars, long waistcoats and plain neckties. Suspenders were a little-known luxury. The circuits were large. In 1804 a preacher was appointed to Illinois, and in 1807 another had Missouri as his circuit. The circuit-rider preached every day generally, on week days at noon. Sixty-four dollars a year was his salary before 1800, afterward increased to $80, but very often he reported a deficit. These matters are of interest to us, even though they are petty, because the heroism of the itinerants who bore them so bravely and patiently is shown in little as in great things. They laid faithfully the foundations upon which succeeding generations have builded so successfully and deserve our love and gratitude as the apostles of early Methodism. Professor Sweet has written a very interesting account in the first seventy pages of the conditions under which the preachers worked and many deilghtful anecdotes and illustrations are given, drawn from biographies and other sources. We could wish that Professor Sweet might further enrich our historical collection. H. K. Carroll.

Everybody's World. By Sherwood Eddy. Pp. 275. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Few if any men are so well fitted as Sherwood Eddy to go to the ends of the earth, whence representatives were drawn into the great conflict which recently ended in Europe, and bring back wise words as to the outlook for reconstruction. In the war, where he saw Americans, Australians, Canadians, South Africans, American Indians, Negroes, Moroccans, Senegalese, Malagasy, Basutos, Chinese, Japanese, Sikhs of India, Ghurkhas, Mahrattas, Portuguese, Belgians, French British and Italians, he went out into the world, so familiar to him, to see what the great victory meant to Africa, China, Japan, India, the Near East, Russia, and to gauge Anglo-Saxon responsibility. He found a troubled world, an awakening world and a world ready for an advance toward Christianity and a newer and better civilization. In India, where he had spent eighteen years in missionary work, he found many auspicious signs of a growing Christianity and a crumbling heathenism. As the war was Everybody's War, so is the new world Everybody's World, and the optimistic writer has no doubt that it is the leaven of Christianity that will in time leaven the whole lump. He saw Nationalism manifesting itself in Egypt; he saw in Turkey a great problem yet to be settled, if ever the European nations can get the courage to face it, we might add; he saw hope in Armenia, the bleeding nationality of the world, which nobody is yet ready to father; in Russia, a resurrection from the depths of starving agony when the strangling hold of Bolshevism is broken; in China, the victim of material exploitation and of internal bribery and corruption, a day of deliverance when the

chains which cramp her life shall be broken and political, social, and economic freedom shall be hers—all these through the Gospel of Christ. In India the new national consciousness is "bridging the gulfs of caste and creed, of race and language" and the choice lies between evolution and revolution. Cannot philanthropy in England and Democratic America guide these vast millions into the channel of Christian civilization? For all these problems the author proposes a new social order, based on the Fatherhood of God, each man a potential son of God and of infinite worth, all men Christian brothers and with mutual responsibility for each other. And then, of course, comes as the chief object the bringing in of the Kingdom of God, by the use of wealth and service. The reading of this volume, touched by spiritual fervor, breathing a glorious faith in the power, wisdom, and effective guidance of God, and every page glowing with confidence in the ability of the Church of Christ to work out ultimately all these world problems, is good to inspire courage and hope in hours when the black tides of materialism rise about the soul in this selfish and thoughtless world. H. K. CARROLL.

The Christ of Revolution. By JOHN R. COATES, B.A. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

THE interest of the world in Jesus Christ evidently is not abating. Even if Christianity were not spreading over the continents and undermining religions older than itself, it commands the best intelligence of the nations, and the life, character, teachings and ideals of its founder are among the most attractive studies and discussions of the time. The Christ of Revolution does not pretend to be a new discovery of the powers and qualities of the Master's leadership, but is rather an attempt to harmonize different points of view in the conclusion that Christ is the power of God in a revolution, initiated by Him, which "will ultimately transform the whole of human life." The meaning of the quoted words is not very clear. Do they apply to the whole race, or to the particular lives affected? The reader is quite often in doubt as to the author's meaning, but not as to his spirit and purpose. He is reverent, is not afflicted with doubts, apparently, and discusses with conviction "the problems, the principles, the program, the glory and the power of Jesus." The book makes the impression that the author has thought deeply on the subject. He has written much that is suggestive and helpful; but a more logical development of his subject and a more lucid presentation of his thoughts would add to the value of his book. H. K. CARROLL.

The Meaning of Service. By HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK. 12mo, pp. ix+225. New York: Association Press. Price, $1.25.

THIS is a refreshing book on a hackneyed theme. Fosdick maintains his high reputation as an alert writer of devotional literature that appeals to the intellect and the will as well as to the spiritual emotions. Those who have read his two books on The Meaning of Prayer and The Meaning

of Faith will welcome this third member of the trilogy. The twelve chapters, to be used during twelve weeks, are arranged for daily use, with a Scripture passage and exposition and a prayer. The meditation of each week is summed up in a masterly comment of about nine or ten pages. These comments are first-class sermons and good Sunday reading. The illustrations are out of the beaten track, the quotations, from a large variety of writers, are always apposite, and the thought is expressed in a choice, virile style.

The titles of the chapters are "Service and Christianity," "The Peril of Uselessness," "The Strong and the Weak," "The Abundant Life," "Self-Denial," "Justice," "Small Enemies of Usefulness," "Cooperation," "New Forms of Service," "The Great Obstacle," "The Motive of Gratitude," "Victorious Personality." The exposition of the incident of the rich young man begins thus: "We marvel at men who, heavily handicapped by *adversity*, succeed in achieving victorious lives. The Master marvelled at men who, heavily handicapped by *prosperity*, were able to rise above it. It seemed to him a superhuman task to get the spiritual mastery of success." Then there follows a comparison between Lincoln and Gladstone. Self-sacrifice is described as "the enlargement of our personalities to comprehend the interests of others"; the chapter on "The Abundant Life" is a luminous study of this theme. "Self-denial is not negative repression but the cost of positive achievement"; it is forcefully elaborated in the chapter on this subject. "As Bunyan found a passage to hell from under the walls of the celestial city, so are there ways to unlovely uselessness that run out from the very desire and intention to be of use." The week's study of this subtle danger will open the eyes of many to insidious perils lurking in places of apparent safety. The subject of stewardship is honestly faced in the chapter on "The Great Obstacle." The motive of gratitude must be quickened by the fact that "all we have was bought and paid for by unselfishness. Can we not do for others, not simply as we would be done by, but as we have been done by?" The message of the book is summed up in the last chapter. "The most serviceable gift which any man can give the world is a radiant and inwardly victorious personality."

This is a book of consecration, cheer and courage. It will start drives of thought and trains of action, to bring blessing to many and hasten the day of Christian triumph.

The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua. A Critical Study. By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Emeritus, in Harvard University. 8vo, pp. 82. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Price, $1.25.

IT is one of the ironies of history that a prophetic and fertile thinker like Marsiglio should be practically unknown. The Defensor Pacis has been adjudged the most remarkable literary product of the Middle Ages. Those who make this claim do not ignore Thomas Aquinas the theologian, Dante the poet, William Ockham the philosopher. This herald of a new social order was promptly challenged by the hierarchy, not by argument,

but by the assertion of ecclesiastical authority. But his message could not be silenced and though his name is seldom referred to, his teachings were accepted by later writers so that he was destined to exercise an anonymous influence over successive generations.

We are therefore glad that Professor Emerton has presented a historical exposition of the Defensor Pacis, which is without doubt one of the few immortal writings of the ages. It was called forth by the conflict between the Empire and the Papacy, and it convincingly advocated the rights of civil authority against papal claims. The immediate occasion was the struggle of the Emperor Ludwig of Bavaria to secure imperial independence from the domination of the Pope. The significance of Marsiglio's defense of the imperial office is that it represents the ultimate rights of the people. It was one of the earliest voices on behalf of democracy. Marsiglio insists that the source of law and therefore of authority is not found in any divine right of rulers nor in the superior wisdom of any class of society but in the whole body of citizens. He had in mind the modern idea of majority rule, as conveying the best expression of the will of the entire community. "We declare that according to the truth (that is, the Gospel) and to the opinion of Aristotle, the Lawgiver, that is, the primary, essential and efficient source of law is the People, that is, the whole body of citizens or a majority of them, acting of their own free choice openly declared in a general assembly of the citizens and prescribing something to be done or not done in regard to civil affairs under penalty of temporal punishment." He further contended that the ruler should be given large liberty of executive action, but he must always remember that he is the agent of the sovereign people.

Marsiglio's definition of the church was also marked by the temper of democracy. He took issue with those who insisted that the church means chiefly the presbyters or bishops, ministers and deacons, and he declared that the church is the whole body of believers, both clergy and laity. His discussion of the "power of the keys" shows him to be a Protestant before Protestantism. He argued with pointed persuasiveness against Petrine authority. As a matter of historical fact the Roman bishops were the successors of Paul rather than of Peter. "But, as to Peter, I say that it cannot be proved by Scripture that he was bishop of Rome, or what is more, that he was ever at Rome. For it seems amazing if, according to some popular saint's legend, St. Peter came to Rome before St. Paul, preached there the word of God, and was then taken prisoner, if then St. Paul after his arrival in Rome acting together with St. Peter had so many conflicts with Simon Magus and in defense of the faith fought against emperors and their agents, and if finally, according to the same story, both were beheaded at the same time for their confession of Christ, there fell asleep in the Lord, and thus consecrated the Roman church of Christ—most amazing, I say, that St. Luke, who wrote the Acts of the Apostles, and Paul himself make not the slightest mention of St. Peter."

This quotation is given to illustrate Marsiglio's method of argument, which was strictly historical. He furthermore placed the appeal to Scrip-

ture above papal decrees and made tradition subservient to reason. What he wrote on the claims to supremacy of the Roman see and on the relation between clergy and laity deserves the careful study of those interested in the contentious questions of the historic episcopate and of apostolic succession. The Roman Curia was severely castigated. "What do you find there but a swarm of simoniacs from every quarter? What but the clamor of pettifoggers, the insults of calumny, the abuse of honorable men? There justice to the innocent falls to the ground or is so long delayed—unless they can buy it for a price—that finally, worn out with endless struggle, they are compelled to give up even just and deserving claims. There are hatched conspiracies and plots for invading the territories of Christian peoples and snatching them from their lawful guardians. But for the winning of souls there is neither care nor counsel." He rightfully contended that the disorders of Christendom were largely due to the spiritual power invading the province of secular authority for its own material aggrandizement.

One of the most fruitful suggestions was that concerning a general council, composed of clergy and laity, to be regarded as the supreme court of appeal. This idea is still more or less of a dream, although the signs of our times point to some such league of nations and of churches as a needed instrument to realize the peace of the world on a basis equitable to all social classes. It was to have been expected that a document so revolutionary would be denounced. Pope John XXII was vehement in his bulls directed against Ludwig, Marsiglio, and his associate John of Jandun. Gregory XI at a later date declared that the heresies of Wycliffe represented "the perverted opinions and ignorant doctrine of Marsiglio of damned memory." The importance of this mediæval pronouncement by an independent thinker cannot be overestimated. A study of this thesis by Professor Emerton will help all who are engaged in the effort to interpret and apply the principles of democracy in national and international life as well as in the realm of church comity and cooperation.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY

The Psychology of Adolescence. By FREDERICK TRACY. Pp. xi+246. New York: The Macmillan Co.

THE author of this book is a professor in the University of Toronto, who has long been known to many through his *Psychology of Childhood.* He now carries his studies forward into the second great stage of growth. The aim of the new volume is to provide teachers, particularly of religion and morals, with a ready handbook of information and points of view. It reports no fresh researches; it contains no critical discussions of other publications or of debatable views; it presents neither case studies nor statistics as evidence for the generalizations that are offered: the book consists, rather, of conclusions that the author draws from a survey, on the one

hand, of the literature of the subject, and on the other hand, of his own long experience as a teacher of youth.

It is, of course, not practicable in a brief view even to sketch the many specific conclusions that are offered, but it is possible to indicate some of the more general and pervasive convictions that control the entire discussion. Perhaps the most important of them—important both theoretically and educationally—is that of the continuity of childhood with adolescence and of adolescence with maturity. "The division into periods is instrumental and methodical rather than fundamental and essential" (p. 4). This does not mean, with Tracy, that the ripening of the sex instinct is a slight thing from any point of view, but that "no single period or stage in the life of the individual can be adequately dealt with except in relation to the whole life" (p. 2). Twenty-five years ago the differences between adolescence and other periods needed to be emphasized; for various reasons an over-emphasis occurred. One leading source of the over-emphasis was a particular interpretation of recapitulation that is now known to be incorrect. In view of the wide publicity that this interpretation has had among teachers it is to be regretted that Professor Tracy has not added to his very general statement of his position a specific critical discussion of recapitulation, actual and fancied (see pp. 22f).

Another, closely related, controlling conviction is a particular, carefully defined conception of the ideal of individual growth and therefore the aim of education. Here again the notion of the unity of the individual —harmony of all the powers and consistent control of them all through reason—is the fundamental one (pp. 7-9, 207). In this conception several theoretical attitudes and points of view combine. First of all, we find a predominantly intellectualistic approach to the problem of mind (see, for example, p. 83). Accordingly the psychology that is here offered is structural, in fact little more than an improved form of the old psychology of intellect, feeling, and will. The resources of dynamic and social psychology are very slightly utilized. In the next place, the ethical principle that is assumed is a reflection of the formalism of Kant. It is true that Tracy recognizes the impossibility of self-realization in any but a social medium, but he gives few hints as to the content of the social issues in and through which growth takes place, or of the social ends that should control education.

As a consequence, I judge, of the intellectualistic emphasis, the mind of the adolescent is treated almost altogether as a generalized mind rather than as particular minds that exhibit different phenomena and different sorts of growth under different conditions of heredity and of experience. The whole field of mental tests and of occupational tests is ignored; likewise the effects of different sorts of training in different religions and civilizations; most serious of all, differences in adolescence because of economic conditions. Tracy has in mind, apparently without realizing how limited his horizon is, the favored youth who goes to high school and college. How would the author's generalizations look if they were to be compared, item by item, with the mental life of the multitudes of my

adolescent neighbors who enter occupations at fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years of age? Does anybody know?

The intellectualistic approach is responsible likewise, we may assume, for the fact that the author refrains from grappling with the Freudian notions of adolescence. One may surmise that these notions do not appeal to Professor Tracy as valid, but he mistakes if he thinks of them, valid or not, as unimportant. They are important, first of all, because they are making a strong popular appeal against much that has been accepted concerning childhood and adolescence and concerning the regimen that is appropriate thereto. Freudianism is important for psychology in general, because it challenges us to find the truth concerning the dynamics, the inmost motivation, of the mind; and for the psychology of adolescence, because the influence of the sex impulse and organism yields the central problem of this period. It seems, in particular, as though anyone who concerns himself with the common anxieties of adolescents would feel obliged to reckon with the new theory. I am far from desiring to recommend the psycho-analytic conclusions, for they seem to me to be an extraordinary mixture of fancy with fact; my point is that they cannot properly be ignored.

It goes without saying, of course, that Professor Tracy presents a noble and ennobling picture of adolescence and its possibilities. The education that he recommends includes the symmetry, the poise, the rational control, and the esthetic appreciations that characterize the Greek ideal, and likewise the ethical consecration of the Christian. The limitations that I have mentioned concern what is omitted far more than what is included.

The Union Theological Seminary. GEORGE A. COE.

A First Primary Book in Religion. By ELIZABETH COLSON. Pp. 260. The Abingdon Press.

The Rules of the Game. By FLOYD W. LAMBERTSON. Pp. 206. *Teacher's Manual.* By the Same. Pp. 77. The Abingdon Press.

Vocations within the Church. By LEONIDAS W. CRAWFORD. Pp. 211. The Abingdon Press, New York and Cincinnati.

THESE volumes belong to the series of Abingdon Religious Education Texts for the Week-Day School, now being issued under the editorship of Professor George Herbert Betts, of Northwestern University.

They are soundly based on Child and Adolescent Psychology and are so developed as to be easily taught by any fairly trained day or Sunday-school teacher. The first volume is for children six years of age and forms a progressive course in religious ideas, Christian and social ethics. The method is beautifully pedagogical, beginning with stories, chiefly from the Bible, then expressed in prescribed activities, illustrated by play, given substance by the memorizing of songs, hymns, and prayers. The second book, Rules of the Game, is for boys and girls of the Scout and Campfire age, and develops the Scout Oath and Scout Law through

Bible teaching and hero-tales. The third, a vocational handbook, is a training treatise for young men and women, to meet a crowning problem of to-day, the need of more consecrated and trained workers. The high note of service, sacred, social, and secular, is nobly emphasized.

These volumes will admirably meet the growing demand for week-day religious instruction in the church, school and home.

BIOGRAPHY

Margot Asquith. An Autobiography. Two volumes. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $7.50, net.

"A BIOGRAPHY must not be a brief either for or against its client and it should be the same with an autobiography. In writing about yourself and other living people you must take your courage in both hands." It is in such a spirit that Mrs. Asquith has written these two volumes, without any regard to conventional standards and with scathing directness. She is a veracious chronicler and shows no hesitation in setting down in cold print her impressions of manners and morals. She is just as frank with herself as with her friends, but there is no animus of any sort, although some of the things she has written would be resented. An editor might have used the blue pencil freely, but in that case this autobiography would have been tame and formal. As we have it, it is unusually fascinating, and even when exception is taken to certain passages, there are many others written in a sparkling style and possessed of high literary and historical value.

Of an impetuous nature, Mrs. Asquith never hesitated to break a lance with celebrities in many walks of life. Her tilt with Lady Londonderry was an overwhelming defeat of the Lady and proved that Mrs. Asquith had the facts in abundance, which could not be said of the one who challenged her. She seemed to have been the center of every group where her brilliance, wit, quick repartee made her tantalizing to some and attractive to others. One of these social groups was dubbed "The Souls." Mr. Balfour, who was a member of it, declared that "no history of our times will be complete unless the influence of the Souls is accurately and dispassionately recorded." Here we have it by one of its most inspiring members, and the account throws light on many situations in English public life. "What interests me most on looking back now at those ten years is the loyalty, devotion, and fidelity which we showed to one another, and the pleasure which we derived from friendships that could not have survived a week had they been accompanied by gossip, mocking, or any personal pettiness. Most of us had a depth of feeling and moral and religious ambition which are entirely lacking in the clever young men and women of to-day."

What a procession of distinguished names passes through these pages! Queen Victoria, Queen Alexandra, Edward VII, George V, Gladstone, the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, John Morley, the Master of Balliol,

the Archbishop of Canterbury, James Addington Symonds, George Meredith, Tennyson, Lord Curzon, Arthur Balfour, T. H. Huxley, Sir William Harcourt, Augustine Birrell, Viscount Grey, Lord Haldane, Mrs. Gladstone, Lady Manners, the Duchess of Devonshire, Lady Frances Balfour. There are many others, all of whom were personally known and whose letters and conversations are freely quoted. "I had thought of putting as a motto on the title-page of this book, 'As well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb'; but I gave it up when my friends gave me away and I saw it quoted in the newspapers; and I chose Blake and the Bible. The first is, 'Prudence is a rich, ugly old maid wooed by incapacity'; the second is Psalm 39. 5-7." The full length portrait of herself is in many ways the best part of these volumes. "She was not easily depressed by antagonistic circumstances or social situations hostile to herself—on the contrary, her spirit rose in all losing games. She was assisted in this by having no personal vanity, the highest vitality, and great self-confidence. She was self-indulgent, though not selfish, and had not enough self-control for her passion and impetuosity; it was owing more to dash and grit than to any foresight that she kept out of difficulties. She distrusted the dried-up advice of many people, who prefer coining evil to publishing good. She was lacking in awe, and no respecter of persons; loving old people because she never felt they were old. Warm-hearted and with much power of devotion, thinking no trouble too great to take for those you love, and agreeing with Dr. Johnson that friendships should be kept in constant repair." And much more in this strain. Here is self-analysis without any morbid introspection.

Equally striking and with more than a touch of originality are other penetrating delineations of character. Concerning one of them, J. A. Symonds wrote, "I feel that you have offered an extremely powerful and brilliant conception, which is impressive and convincing because of your obvious sincerity and breadth of view. The purely biographical and literary value of this bit of work seems to me very great, and makes me keenly wish that you would record all your interesting experiences, and your first-hand studies of exceptional personalities in the same way." John Morley was no less discerning, "It is a brilliant example of that character-writing in which the French so indisputably beat us. If you like, you can be as keen and brilliant and penetrating as Madame de Sévigné or the best of them, and if I were a publisher, I would tempt you by high emoluments and certainty of fame." Henry James was no less enthusiastic: "I take off my hat to you as to the very Balzac of diarists. It is full of life and force and color, of a remarkable instinct for getting close to your people and things and for squeezing, in the case of the resolute portraits of certain of your eminent characters especially, the last drop of truth and sense out of them—at least as the originals affected your singularly searching vision." Recounting a conversation with Mr. Gladstone, Mrs. Asquith wrote, "He talked of Bright and Chamberlain and Lord Dalhousie, who, he said, was one of the best and most conscientious men he had ever known. He told me that during the time he had been

Prime Minister, he had been personally asked for every great office in the State, including the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and this not by maniacs but by highly respectable men, sometimes his friends." The passages on the Master of Balliol show deep insight and sympathy and present him in his true proportions. "The first element of greatness is fundamental humbleness (this should not be confused with servility); the second is freedom from self; the third is intrepid courage, which, taken in its widest interpretation, generally goes with truth; and the fourth, the power to love, although I have put it last, is the rarest. If these go to the makings of a great man, Jowett possessed them all." Her first impressions of Asquith are worth quoting: "The dinner where I was introduced to Henry was in the House of Commons and I sat next to him. I was tremendously impressed by his conversation and his clean Cromwellian face. He was different from the others and, although abominably dressed, had so much personality that I made up my mind at once that here was a man who could help me and would understand everything." This autobiography is dedicated to her husband with these sentences from Epictetus: "What? Have you not received powers, to the limits of which you will bear all that befalls? Have you not received magnanimity? Have you not received courage? Have you not received endurance?"

It would hardly be fair to quote any more from these stimulating volumes. Whoever takes them up will not lay them down till the last chapter is reached. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Americanization of Edward Bok. The Autobiography of a Dutch Boy Fifty Years After. 8vo, pp. xxiii+461. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $5.

"INTO the best that the foreign-born can retain, America can graft such a wealth of inspiration, so high a national idealism, so great an opportunity for the highest endeavor, as to make him the fortunate man of the earth to-day." This conclusion is amply sustained by the personal testimony of Bok, whose good fortune it was to make the friendship of several of the most notable men and women of America during the formative period of his life. It was not a stroke of luck, but the reward of persistent effort to carry out the counsel of his grandmother: "Make you the world a bit more beautiful and better because you have been in it." The blood of heroic spirits was in his veins, and the will to become and to do was a consuming passion with him. He learned early that obstacles are merely difficulties to be overcome, that nothing in the world of business just happens, that the hardest kind of work is back of every success.

This story of his successful achievements is full of thrilling interest. It is a veritable tonic to those who are tempted to yield to discouragement, and it is a stimulus to greater perseverance and a more resolute spirit on the part of all who would engage in the Great Adventure of Life. The writer refers to himself in the third person and thus introduces quite a healthy innovation in autobiographical writing. He came to this country with his parents from Holland when he was six years of age, and

when thirteen years old he was compelled to leave school. But he was determined to pursue the path of self-education. It is interesting to follow the way he made this journey, which finally brought him places of deserved honor, responsibility, and usefulness.

It is simply marvellous that a lad still in his teens should have got through such a prodigious amount of work. The boy who received letters from Generals Garfield, Grant, and Sherman, President Hayes, and interviewed Oliver Wendell Holmes, Longfellow, Phillips Brooks, and other distinguished people, was destined to become acquainted with several of the most conspicuous leaders of America and Europe. The pen sketches of Mark Twain, R. W. Emerson, Roosevelt, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, Rudyard Kipling, Benjamin Harrison, James G. Blaine, W. E. Gladstone, J. G. Whittier, Jefferson Davis, Lewis Carroll, Sir Arthur Sullivan, Alexander Dumas *fils*, Rosa Bonheur, Charles Dana Gibson, Charles A. Dana, Francis L. Patton, Charles A. Briggs, W. H. Mabie, and letters from these and other persons make this volume a personal history of our own times.

Bok was fortunate to come under the influence of Henry Ward Beecher, in his youth; and he writes with grateful pleasure concerning this great-heart of the American pulpit. Many pages are also devoted to his associations with the versatile Roosevelt. The chapter entitled "A Plunge into Wall Street" tells of his relations with Jay Gould and of his decision to turn from the uncertainties of financial wizardry to the publishing business, where he instinctively felt he would be happier and more useful. Gould tried to dissuade him: "You are making a great mistake. Books are a luxury. The public spends its largest money on necessities: on what it can't do without. It must telegraph; it need not read. It can read in libraries. A promising boy such as you are, with his life before him, should choose the right sort of business, not the wrong one." But the sequel proved that Bok was right and Gould wrong in this instance. He writes that Beecher could never be induced to answer those who attacked him. "He always saw the ridiculous side of those attacks; never their serious import." Robert Louis Stevenson never seemed to have the slightest interest in what the press said of his books, but he was an indefatigable toiler. "No man ever went over his proofs more carefully; his corrections were numerous; and sometimes for ten minutes at a time he would sit smoking and thinking over a single sentence which, when he had satisfactorily shaped it in his mind, he would recast on the proof."

A chapter on "The Chances for Success" contains lessons of value to aspiring youth. Bok dismisses the theory of influence and favoritism and stresses the fact of sheer merit as the only factor that actually counts. On this he writes further in the chapter on "The Literary Backstairs." Elsewhere he remarks that the real curse of America is the lack of thoroughness. "During my years of editorship, save in one or two conspicuous instances, I was never able to assign to an American writer work which called for painstaking research. In every instance, the work came back to me either incorrect in statement, or otherwise obviously

lacking in careful preparation." The chapter, "Where America fell short with me," is a searching exposure of our characteristic weaknesses. The fact that it is not written in a cynical spirit is evidenced by the next chapter, "What I Owe to America." These two chapters are worth the price of the book, and they deserve to be widely circulated, in the interest of a virile Americanism, which is the only sort that should be advocated.

As an editor Bok learned the golden rule that should be cherished by all public men, to keep the ears open and the mouth shut. He quotes with approval the counsel of Dr. T. DeWitt Talmage, "Remember, boy, silence is never so golden as when you are under fire. I know, for I have been there more than once. Keep quiet; and always believe this: that there is a great deal of common sense abroad in the world, and a man is always safe in trusting it to do him justice." A remarkable feature of Bok's character was that he never accepted the failure of others as a final decision for himself. He also resolved that he would always try to do the common thing in an uncommon way. He thus accomplished things without fear of reverses, of which he had his full share. The secret of his success is summed up in a few sentences that must be quoted. "Bok determined to lift himself out of poverty because his mother was not born in it, did not belong in it, and could not stand it. That gave him the first essential: a purpose. Then he backed up the purpose with effort and an ever-ready willingness to work, and to work at anything that came his way, no matter what it was, so long as it meant 'the way out.' He did not pick and choose; he took what came, and did it in the best way he knew how; and when he did not like what he was doing he still did it as well as he could while he was doing it, but always with an eye single to the purpose not to do it any longer than was strictly necessary. He used every rung in the ladder as a rung to the one above. He always gave more than his particular position or salary asked for. He never worked by the clock; always by the job; and saw that it was well done regardless of the time it took to do it. This meant effort, of course, untiring, ceaseless, unsparing; and it meant work, hard as nails."

It was as editor of the Ladies' Home Journal that Edward Bok will long be remembered. The story how its circulation grew by leaps and bounds, the way he secured the best writers, his methods of advertising, his editorial policies, is an attractive revelation of insight, ingenuity and initiative, unparalleled in the annals of journalism. He was a veritable dynamo of exhaustless energy. The reforms he introduced and carried through were both revolutionary and highly beneficial. Through his paper he instituted radical changes in American domestic architecture, furniture, pictures, fashions in dress, music, child welfare. Very readable are the chapters, whose titles suggest their contents: "An Adventure in Civic and Private Art"; "Women's Clubs and Woman Suffrage" "An Excursion into the Feminine Nature"; "Cleaning up the Patent-medicine and other Evils"; "How Millions of People Are Reached."

He retired after thirty years of very successful editorial work, at the height of his powers. But a man of his temperament does not propose to rust out. He has many years of profitable work before him. One who has

been favored with such a wide range of experience granted to few mortals, and who has kept a level head and a sane spirit in the face of success and failure, has a great deal to say to the present generation. This book will without doubt take a high place among the classics of autobiography.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

The Soul of Abraham Lincoln. By WILLIAM E. BARTON. New York: George H. Doran Co.

The Paternity of Abraham Lincoln. By WILLIAM E. BARTON. New York: George H. Doran Co.

Abraham Lincoln, Man of God. By JOHN WESLEY HILL. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

EVERY year we have additions to the already amazingly rich accumulation of Lincoln literature. These additions are, of course, of varying value. Some are so superficial in their workmanship that they cannot endure; others are of such thoroughgoing workmanship that they are sure to be accepted as reliable sources of authority by writers in subsequent generations. Of this latter character are the two books by Dr. Barton, who informs us that his plan for a trilogy of Lincoln books is well advanced, the third book to be "a work more strictly biographical and containing a character study of America's great commoner and liberator." But the first of these two Barton books contains a character study and the latter has a very decided biographical quality. However, the materials were not exhausted in the writing of either book, and it will be worth while to read the "more strictly biographical" contribution that Dr. Barton has in the making.

The study of the religious life of Lincoln has a fascination of its own, and to it Dr. Barton yields willingly. He has gone into the matter with thoroughness and without prejudice, and has produced a mass of evidence that should be sufficient to convince the most skeptical that Lincoln was a religious man. Dr. Barton has the traits of a trained lawyer and has a way of shifting evidence that indicates fairness of mind, and yet a determination to bring the matter out at the desired point. Not that he covers up anything that is relevant or that should be disclosed, but his predisposition as to the reality of his client's religious faith and practice helps very much in the emergence of the acceptable conclusion. He gives careful attention to all the elements of Lincoln's life that might contribute in any way to the creation of a religious atmosphere, and fortifies his conclusions by authorities that cannot be questioned. He has given us, therefore, "a study of the evolution of the spiritual life of Abraham Lincoln" which is entitled to high praise, for it is a distinct contribution to the literature of this phase of Lincoln's life. Dr. Hill goes over much of the same ground as Dr. Barton covers, but comes to his conclusions as to the religious character of Lincoln by a somewhat different route. To him the religious element in Lincoln was constant and distinct and assertive. And more than that, he looks upon the Great President as in a particular and peculiar sense a "Man of God," set apart by a sort of

divine decree for the accomplishment of a definite service for humanity, and consciously or unconsciously yielding to the leadings of the divine Wisdom and accomplishing the task that was set for him, and for none other, to do. Dr. Barton is lawyer-like in his handling of the subject. He seeks for evidence, arranges it, sifts it, and then makes it tell the story and furnish the basis of conviction.

Dr. Hill brings to his agreeable and happily accomplished task the gifts of the orator, and makes the evidence he produces glow into a wonderful picture, and presents his conclusions with an outburst of apostrophes. He does a unique thing, however, in gleaning from the public utterances and many private documents, letters, etc., of Lincoln a vast amount of material related to the main theme that lies in the author's mind, and out of this material he establishes firmly the thesis upon which his book is based.

Dr. Barton's second book, on the Paternity of Lincoln, is unique. It seems unfortunate that the necessity exists for such a book, but as it does exist, it is a satisfaction to have the piece of work that undertakes to do so well done. It is well known that there has been for many years some question as to the paternity of Lincoln, and that in the acrimonious political campaigns that centered about Lincoln the question was thrust into the forefront in a very ugly and uncomfortable way. The rumors as to his paternity were various and varying, and there were many who believed that Lincoln was not the son of Thomas Lincoln, and that Nancy Hanks was a proper subject of criticism as to her character and conduct. Dr. Barton goes into the whole matter with amazing thoroughness—and —it is a satisfaction to believe—with such completeness that it will never be opened again, and the paternity of the Great President will never again be a matter of gibes and innuendoes and scoffings and sneers. He takes up each story of the alleged paternity—and there are at least seven of them—and he considers the nature and importance of each, then he goes into the evidence in each of the seven cases, and much of this evidence he has accumulated personally by visitations in the respective neighborhoods, conversations with interested persons, examination of public and private documents; then he goes into a critical and constructive analysis of this accumulated evidence in each instance, and comes to his conclusions—just as a lawyer would, and as he did in respect to the materials that were assembled for the making of his "Soul of Abraham Lincoln." And these conclusions establish with a solidity that cannot be shaken the legitimacy of Lincoln's birth as the child of Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. With this contribution of Dr. Barton there should be no question hereafter on this point. He says this about the results of his researches in this direction:

"The hills of Kentucky have their own solid type of mirth, and their sententious sayings are sometimes informed with a quizzical humor. There is a saying current there, and Abraham Lincoln would have heard it if he had lived there longer, when a story or a political issue or a candidate is completely and effectually disposed of. They say, as I have heard them say in stump speeches, that that story or issue or candidate

is now buried so deeply that if he or it ever scratches out, it will be less laborious 'to keep on a-scratchin' downwards, and come out face to the fire.' That is the depth at which I have now buried the story that Abraham Lincoln was an illegitimate child. Let any man who proposes to exhume that putrid reminiscence go prepared to dig deep and stay long, for he will not find it on this side of the place prepared for every one that loveth and maketh a lie." * * *

Outdoor Men and Minds. By WILLIAM L. STIDGER. 12mo, pp. 184. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.50.

STIDGER has written two excellent war books. Soldier Silhouettes and Star Dust from the Dugouts consist of vivid recollections of his outdoor experiences at the Front. He observes everything that is worth while with the eye of a poet, and his reports are graphic descriptions as well as discerning interpretations. These qualities are also found in the present volume on the nature scenes of the Bible. We are accustomed to think of the Bible as the book of religion in terms of dogmatic theology. It is therefore refreshing to be reminded in a picturesque way that the God of Revelation is also the God of Nature, as the Bible writers so invariably recognized. The idea that science is inimical to religion is an exploded heresy, and the surprise is that it should ever have been seriously considered. We think of the immanence and transcendence of God as expressing respectively his identity with us and his difference from us. When we distinguish between the poetry and the prose of the Bible, its noble figures of speech and its large conceptions will bring strength to our faith and comfort our spirits. Stidger's breezy volume is a decided aid to devotion.

Good use is made of his wide experiences as a traveler. What he saw in China, Japan, and other countries, including many sections of the United States, serves to illustrate his enthusiastic chapters on the trees, storms, mountains, rivers, and birds of the Bible, the sea, the desert, the stars, and the Bible. The personal note shows that he got most of his information not from learned books and encyclopedias but from observation in the great out-of-doors in many lands. Two concluding chapters on Luther Burbank and John Muir are not superfluous. They are introduced because "any men who are close to nature are also close to God and truth and righteousness." There are other out-of-doors men, such as John Burroughs and W. H. Hudson, author of The Book of the Naturalist, but Stidger is writing from personal experience and it is well he has confined himself in the way he has done. Among the truths he learned from Burbank are that out of a weed may spring a beautiful flower; a plant can be redeemed by giving it a new foundation on which to work; by careful breeding the most insignificant plant may become the most significant; he who searches may find the soul, hidden though it may be, of any plant. The spiritual applications are well wrought out and the preacher will find here fresh illustrations for sermons.

Altogether, this is a restful and cheerful book. A single quotation will reveal its tone and temper: "Happy are the men and women who have

learned the lesson of calmness in their lives; who will not allow themselves to be frustrated, who will not permit their souls to be disturbed and perturbed about anything; who, when obstacles arise in life, go around or through those obstacles and, without much ado, continue on their journey—smiling." One correction should be made. The author of that intensely readable book, The Land of To-morrow, is not Robert Louis Stevenson but William B. Stephenson, Jr., formerly United States Commissioner in Alaska.

The Protocols and the World Revolution, including a translation and analysis of the "Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom." Pp. 149. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company.

The Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs, or The Truth About the Forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion. By LUCIEN WOLF. Pp. 54. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IT is only necessary for any one moderately well acquainted with Jewish life, customs, and ritual to read the so-called Protocols to be certain that they are forgeries probably originating with the Russian Secret Service before the war, as a part of its anti-Semitic propaganda. The contradictory statements of Professor Serge Nilus, who gave them to the world, sustain this suspicion. More nearly accurate, probably, is his assertion that he got them from Souchotin, a Czaristic official of the old regime.

Doubtless Jews have played a larger part in revolutionary leadership in Modern Europe all the way from Marx to Trotsky. So also have the Masons. (The Protocols are ascribed to Jewish Free Masonry.) But the real responsibility for class-war must be placed on despotism in Church and State. Mr. Henry Ford is probably as much mistaken in his anti-Jewish propaganda as the Jews are in their attacks on his Americanism and patriotism.

Mr. Lucien Wolf has very ably pointed out the probable origin of the Protocols, tracing portions of them to Pobyedonoszeff, the very fountain head of Russian obscurantism.

The Luzumiyat of Abu'l-Ala. Selected from his *Luzum ma la Yalzam* and *Suct uz-Zand*, and first rendered into English by Ameen Rihani. Pp. 104. New York: James T. White & Co. Price, $1.50.

OMAR KHÁYYÁM, who wrote a generation later than Abu'l-Ala, was not a plagiarist of that maker of quatrains, but was certainly in some measure inspired by his work and, in form at least, an imitator. Both of them are merciless critics of the conventional religion of their time, but the Arabian scholar was a far more intense moralist than the Persian tent-maker. He is well styled the "Lucretius of Islam" and was a vehement opponent of traditionalism, superstition, bigotry, and cant. His stern Stoicism, as compared with Omar's Epicurean attitudes, comes out clearly in their treatment of the liquor question. While the Persian poet praises the purple juice, the Arabian is a pronounced prohibitionist.

"'The wine's forbidden,' say these honest folk,
But for themselves the law they will revoke;
The sniveling sheik says he's without a garb
When in the tap-house he had pawned his cloak."

Both poets are touched with the pessimism of Ecclesiastes, but Abu'l-Ala, like Koheleth, sees a gleam of light in the darkness of his despair; he sees a Potter whose work is not finally cast on the rubbish heap.

"Now I believe the Potter will essay
Once more the Wheel and from a better clay
Will make a better Vessel, and perchance
A Masterpiece which will endure for aye.

"With better skill he even will remold
The scattered potsherds of the New and Old."

He is not without a faint hope that the tear of penitence shall put out the fire of Gehenna, and his heart of humanness can cry, "My religion's love, and love alone." The black night of his Oriental fatalism has here and there a star of hope.

A deep debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Rihani for Englishing the work of this Syrian poet-philosopher, with a beauty which frequently matches Fitzgerald's noble version of the Rubaiyat.

BRIEFER MENTION

What Did Jesus Teach? Frank Pierrepont Graves. (Macmillan, $1.75.) The Dean of the School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, who is also editor of the Educational Review, made good use of the opportunity to interpret the teachings of Jesus to a normal class of leaders, who were to have charge of discussion groups of about two thousand students of his University. The material is arranged according to "pedagogical devices," consisting of paragraph headings, marginal notes, summaries, book lists. His experiment was a decided success and this volume will prove suggestive to leaders of Bible classes who desire to bring the unequalled teachings of the Great Teacher within reach of those who should become familiar with them for the practical guidance of life.

Great Characters of the Old Testament. By Robert William Rogers. (Methodist Book Concern, $1.) Professor Rogers has a charm of style, a quiet friendliness and an old world courtesy, as though he took special pride and pleasure in introducing his readers to some of the outstanding men of the Old Testament. He writes about them with engaging frankness and illuminating insight, which make vivid the mission and influence of these ancient worthies.

Great Characters of the New Testament. By Doremus A. Hayes. (Methodist Book Concern, 75 cents.) Interesting studies of Judas Maccabeus, Jesus, Simon Peter, Paul and John. There were other New Testa-

ment characters, about whom young people should know something, such as Stephen, Barnabas, Priscilla, Mary the mother of our Lord, who were also great, but what is given in this little volume is written with simplicity and directness.

The Religion of Judah. By JOHN BAYNE ASCHAM. (Abingdon Press, $1.50.) Bible students will welcome this scholarly volume on the religious life of the Southern Kingdom. It is written in connection with the history of that nation and gives a clear appraisal of the unique contributions of the prophets. The personal applications and questions for discussion add to the value of this excellent manual, which accepts the conclusions of modern biblical learning, without going into details about controverted issues. The chapters on "The Jewish Messianic Hope," "The Jewish Scriptures," "The Developing Kingdom of God" are models of lucid exposition.

Greatest Thoughts About Jesus Christ. Compiled by J. Gilchrist Lawson. (Doran, $1.75.) *Greatest Thoughts About God.* Compiled by J. Gilchrist Lawson. (Doran, $1.75.) The editor of these two volumes has read widely and well. The results of his findings are arranged in chapters on various aspects of the character and work of our Lord; and the nature and power of God. Each volume has a full index and the busy preacher or Sunday-school teacher will find helpful suggestions and striking quotations. Books of this sort should, however, be used judiciously, not because the material is unreliable, but because a too-frequent use of this type of writing is detrimental to independent study. Hash is good only at long intervals.

Four Hitherto Unpublished Gospels. By WILLIAM E. BARTON. (Doran, $1.50.) The impressions made by the life of Jesus on four men who companioned with Him in the day of His flesh are here written in the autobiographical style. Dr. Barton shows imaginative and interpretative ability in setting forth the incidents with picturesqueness and in harmony with the Gospel story. John the Baptist writes as one who is at once a doubter and a believer. Andrew rejoices in his faithfulness, though he never received a prominent place among the disciples. Judas analyzes his motives and opens up his heart in penitence. James confesses how he was slow to accept Jesus, his own brother, as the Messiah. The book is a fresh presentation.

The Books of Haggai and Zechariah. By T. W. CRAFER. (Cambridge University Press, $1.) This new series of commentaries is in the style of the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Haggai and Zechariah were the inspiring spirits in rebuilding the Temple and their place in Israel's history is well described in the Introductions. The notes are concise and practical, and there is frequent reference to modern world conditions, which in certain respects resembles the distracted times of these two hero prophets.

The Man Who Dares. By LEON C. PRINCE. (Abingdon Press, $1.) The professor of history in Dickinson College has written a stirring summons to young people to show daring, perseverance, fidelity, sacrifice, devotion, patriotism. These five addresses are illustrated by telling incidents from the lives of those who made good. The buoyant note is seen on every page. The volume will enable its readers to understand and achieve genuine success which has the tone of Christian character and influence.

New Ventures of Faith. Suggestions for Greater Achievements through Prayer. (Association Press, 60 cents.) The art of prayer can be acquired only by diligent practice. Here is a volume that will help to perfect the art. Whoever gives one month to this cycle of meditation, with suggested subjects for thanksgiving, penitence, and intercession, will make a rich discovery of the creative resources of God and become better qualified to take a share in the exacting and onerous duties of our troubled times.

The Greatest Failure in All History. By JOHN SPARGO. (Harper and Brothers, $2.50.) This indictment of Bolshevism by one of the leading exponents of socialism should be widely read. Mr. Spargo makes a critical examination of the utterances of Lenin and his associates and throughout he deals with first-hand evidence of what this supposed experiment in democracy has done in virtually introducing a monstrous tyranny a hundredfold worse than that of the Romanovs. Its intolerance and hostility to essential freedom constitute an infamous travesty of representative government. Its operations have violated every principle of truth and liberty. Those social idealists who hailed Bolshevism as God's new Messiah now realize that this propaganda of hatred and violence is the sworn enemy of humanity. Bertrand Russell, who was once in sympathy with it, recently investigated the activities of this instrument of political insanity in the land of its power and declared: "Bolshevism is a military dictatorship. The proletariat means for it an aristocracy." Mr. Spargo is equally explicit and his evidence can produce only one conclusion.

The Last Days of the Romanovs. By GEORGE GUSTAV TELBERG and ROBERT WILTON. (Doran, $3.) The despicable cowardice of Bolshevism cannot be better illustrated than by the murder of the late Czar and the Russian Imperial Family in a cellar during the night between July 16 and 17, 1918, under the most revolting circumstances. This book contains the sworn depositions of six reliable witnesses at a judicial investigation by the Kolchak Government, which were obtained from the archives by Dr. Telberg, Professor of Law at the University of Saratov. The second part is a vivid personal narrative of investigation by Mr. Wilton, for sixteen years Russian correspondent for the London Times. The volume is of the first importance for a study of the background of recent devolution in Russia.

O. L. J.

A READING COURSE

The Christian Preacher. By ALFRED ERNEST GARVIE, M.A., D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $3.50.

THE criticism of the pulpit is an implicit acknowledgment of the importance of preaching. The living voice, sensitive to the currents and needs of the age, and delivering a compelling message concerning the inexhaustible opulence of the everlasting Gospel of Grace, will always have an attentive hearing. He who utters the whole truth through a Spirit-filled personality will never want for eager congregations, be they large or small. The test of genuine preaching is not the size of the audience nor the acclaim of popularity—that besetting peril of the preacher. It is rather seen in the results obtained in advancing the Kingdom of our God and His Christ. Never was the time more propitious for such preaching than the present, when we are between one age that is dying and another in the travails of birth.

There are several good books on preaching. Two volumes by Professor Arthur S. Hoyt on Vital Elements of Preaching and The Work of Preaching have just been supplemented by a third on The Pulpit and American Life, noticed on another page. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman's breezy volume on Ambassadors of God has gone into a second edition in a few months. The Yale lectures offer guidance on definite and limited themes. But this volume by Principal Garvie is the most comprehensive treatment of the many-sided task of preaching. The subject was first assigned to the late Dr. John Watson. To judge from his two books on The Cure of Souls and God's Message to the Human Soul, and his other writings, his book would have had the fine touches of Christian humanism. His substitute has, however, produced an excellent manual, and his unusual qualifications are seen on every page.

Principal Garvie is first a preacher and then a professor. If he approaches his subject at times from the standpoint of a teacher, he never forgets his interest as a preacher. There is a decided advantage in combining a knowledge of the technique of preaching with an experience of its practice. Dr. Garvie furthermore is enthusiastic in his belief in preaching. He writes not as an apologist but as an advocate, and so this volume will encourage preachers to magnify their calling and make themselves increasingly efficient.

The Introduction is a compact discussion of the importance and significance of Christian preaching. Note how he relates the pulpit to worship and work, and regards all three as indispensable to the adequate discharge of the Church's mission. The purpose of preaching is not merely to communicate knowledge, but to evoke faith, stimulate to duty and sustain hope. Its characteristics are determined by its message, which is evangelical, experimental, ethical, and universal.

The first part consists of a historical survey. It deals less with biography and more with types of preaching that have prevailed during the

centuries. More than half the volume is taken up with this review. He has studied brevity without sacrificing clearness. The very titles of the ten chapters in this historical section are suggestive of the excellent material they contain. In support of his exposition of the matter, method, and manner of these preachers of the past, Dr. Garvie furnishes quotations from their sermons, which give a clearer idea of their distinctive contributions. The first chapter on "Jesus Christ the Lord" is a succinct discussion of the preaching and teaching of our Master, and after it is read we will want to turn to Dr. Garvie's great book of Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus. The next chapter discourses on the place of apostles, prophets, and teachers in the early Church. This is followed by chapters on "Apologists and Fathers," "Priest, Monk, and Friar," "Reformers and Dogmatists," "The Anglican and the Puritan," "Orators and Courtiers," "Pietists, Rationalists, Mediators," "Evangelists and Missionaries," "The Repairers of the Breach."

With such excellent fare it might seem to be ungrateful to complain. But there are some serious omissions, especially in the last two chapters on the preachers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There is a total absence of any reference to the leading lights of the French pulpit, such as Père Hyacinthe, Lacordaire, Vinet, and Adolphe Monod. No mention is made of such influential personalities of the British pulpit as William Jay, Richard Watson, F. D. Maurice, Charles Simeon, Thomas Binney, Canon J. B. Mozley, Dean R. W. Church, Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott. If we follow this guide, it would seem that there were no American preachers of note, with the exception of Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, and Dwight L. Moody. We know better, and no record of preaching is complete which fails to recognize the exceptional powers of Timothy Dwight, John A. Broadus, Lyman Beecher, W. E. Channing, Theodore Parker, T. T. Munger, Charles G. Finney, Horace Bushnell, Matthew Simpson, W. M. Taylor, R. S. Storrs, not to mention several others.

The second half of the volume is open to very little criticism. In fact, it is a masterly contribution, replete with sagacious counsels and shrewd suggestions. Here again the titles of the chapters are well formulated and they are a helpful study to the preacher who must always select right titles for sermons. The chapter on "The Preacher as Apostle, Prophet, and Scribe" considers his credentials, and proportionate emphasis is laid on the note of certainty, the gift of spiritual unction, and the ability to interpret accurately the Scriptures. Note what is written about the use of the results of modern scholarship and the need for courage and considerateness in speaking the truth, with due regard to the demand made by the pew for competence and candor on the part of the pulpit. The qualifications of the preacher are next discussed. He must be a scholar versed in knowledge; a sage showing good judgment; a seer with the vision of the spiritual as the real; and a saint as to Christlike character. This exalted ideal is exacting but nothing less could possibly meet the insistent requirements of this day. The preacher who strictly holds himself to this high standard will prove to be an acceptable steward of the manifold grace of God. Dr. Garvie's criticism of mysticism is hardly fair

and he is making distinctions without differences (p. 306). The next chapter is on the functions of the preacher. As priest, he is the leader of common worship, of which the sermon is an integral part. What is written under this head should be carefully studied, to improve the worship of the sanctuary, which should be a comprehensive unity, with nothing superfluous, eccentric, or lacking in good taste. As teacher, he must impart instruction: to this end he should give himself to study, an obligation which is repeatedly emphasized and none too frequently. What do you think of his plea for doctrinal preaching? As pastor, he must minister to the universal needs of the human heart: the importance of pastoral work on a large scale is discerningly set forth. As evangelist, he should appeal to the unconverted and engage in a mission to the unchurched, with a keen interest in the missionary task of the Church.

The third division is on "The Preparation and the Production of the Sermon." Here we are taken into the laboratory which is also the oratory of the preacher. The wide experience and varied learning of Principal Garvie stand him in good stead, as he deals with the intensely practical problems which the preacher must face in his workshop. All successful preachers have been incessant toilers, and those who have spoken with authority and persuasiveness have invariably travailed in intellect and spirit for their sanctuary service. Even when the immediate preparation of men like Spurgeon and Beecher was very short, they were always living, thinking, and reading for the pulpit, and their general preparation was quite exhaustive. Others like Phillips Brooks gave themselves to laborious preparation. The recent death of Dr. Alexander Whyte has brought this truth prominently before preachers. None of the great preachers lived from hand to mouth.

Principal Garvie is an expert guide to preachers and what is written in the third part is quite to the point. The sermon is intended to produce immediate effects and its purpose is not only to teach and please but to move and command the will. In common with other writers, he discusses the usual questions belonging to this phase of the preaching art. He is both sagacious and commonsensical and what he says will be more fully appreciated by those who have some experience in preaching. The sum and substance of it all is this, that the preacher who has fullness of knowledge, clearness of thought, an orderly arrangement, an abundant and varied vocabulary, and who is careful as to the use of voice and gestures, will be qualified to convey the message of the Gospel through a disciplined personality. His sermon will thus be an act of worship acceptable to God and profitable to himself and his hearers.

Side Reading

The bibliography is quite full, but the following by American writers can be consulted with great advantage: *The Theory of Preaching*, by Austin Phelps; *The Building of the Church*, by Charles E. Jefferson; *The Glory of the Ministry*, by A. T. Robertson; *Psychology and Preaching*, by Charles S. Gardner; *The Pulpit and American Life*, by Arthur S. Hoyt; *Ambassadors of God*, by S. Parkes Cadman.

For any information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the METHODIST REVIEW, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Educational Review. (March, 1921.) New York: George H. Doran Company. This number is a valuable handbook on citizenship and Americanization. However, there is a fly in the ointment. William Herbert Hobbs, the well-known militarist, incurably affected with Wilsonophobia, writes: "For Americans the outstanding lesson of the World War has been the menace of the cult of Pacifism and the necessity of a prepared national defense." Which is a bit of very vicious Neo-Machiavellianism, for the real menace is Militarism, and preparedness is a sinister challenge to strife. Fortunately, this mendacious stuff is followed by able articles on "Our Schools and War" and "Education versus War." All interested in education for democracy will be helped by this review.

The Constructive Quarterly. (March, 1921.) George H. Doran Company. This issue is largely occupied with discussions of the Lambeth Ideal of Christian Unity, from many different angles, chiefly, however, from the Anglican standpoint. Bishop Francis J. McConnell writes breezily on "The Church and the Larger Freedom." Here is his keynote: "The Church is set toward the largest freedom for men, but that freedom involves self-religion, self-expression, self-control, self-determination." P. van der Elst, of the Dutch Reformed Church, Holland, sanely yet inspiringly treats of "Christianity and Mystical Insight." Here is something worth while. "Mystical insight is always of a moral nature. True insight is born of the practice of Christianity. At the same time that Fruit enters the soul, higher insight breaks forth with it."

The Journal of Religion. (January, 1921.) University of Chicago Press. This bimonthly unites the Biblical World and The American Journal of Theology. In this new publication the emphasis passes from the theoretical to the practical, from theology to religion. All will not agree with Professor George A. Coe's article on "The Religious Breakdown of the Ministry," but it may be a useful tonic to many. Perhaps preachers are somewhat to blame for the widespread spiritual illiteracy of our time. The religious ignorance of church members is often tragical. A useful department is Unsolved Problems, in which are discussed "Why Do Religions Die?" and "Critical Problems in Biblical Theology." A finely spiritualized eschatology may be found in "The Significance of Jesus' Hope," by Charles Henry Dickinson.

The Methodist Quarterly Review. (January, 1921.) Nashville, Tenn. This premier periodical of Southern Methodism fully maintains its high standard of scholarship and literary values under the editorship of Dr.

Frank M. Thomas. It contains two rather unique departments—one on Biblical Exegesis and a Devotional Department. Are there any higher Christian needs than better understanding of the Holy Book and closer communion with God?

The Personalist: a Quarterly Journal of Philosophy, Theology and Literature. (January, 1921.) University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. Not in the East alone, but also from the West dawns the new day of philosophic thought. Attractive in format, interesting in style and instructive in material, The Personalist is a valuable accession to the number of scholarly journals. The highest value in this number must be given to Professor Flewelling's "The Pseudo-Science in Psycho-Analysis."

WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

Emil Carl Wilm, A.M., LL.D., Ph.D., professor of philosophy in Boston University, is author of a number of philosophical works, and a leading authority on religious education.

Edwin Lewis, D.D., is professor of systematic theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

James Main Dixon, L.H.D., professor of comparative literature in the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, author of The Spiritual Meaning of Tennyson's "In Memoriam," and other works, discloses his Oriental learning in his article on Omar and Tennyson.

Lucius H. Bugbee, D.D., recently pastor of Christ Methodist Episcopal Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., has recently been transferred to the Hennepin Avenue Church, Minneapolis, Minn. His article should be read in connection with the following by James Chamberlain Baker, D.D., pastor of the Trinity Methodist Church, Urbana, Ill., who is also the head of the Wesley Foundation, the notable new religious settlement house at the University of Illinois.

Professor Irwin Ross Beiler, Ph.D., occupies the chair of biblical literature in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., recently left vacant by the death of Dr. Camden M. Cobern.

William Warren Sweet, A.M., professor of history in DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind., has written a number of books on Methodist history, and many articles in magazines and reviews.

Professor Neil E. Stevens, an official in the Bureau of Plant Industry in the Agricultural Department, U. S. A., happily turns aside to read the prophets and note their use of botanical figures.

Oscar L. Joseph, A.M., Methodist pastor at Tottenville, N. Y., author of Freedom and Advance, The Coming Day, and other works, adds to his study on Faith (Sight and Insight, in the Review of November-December, 1920) a glowing vision of Hope. He also contributes the Reading Course and a number of book notices.

Davis Wasgatt Clark, D.D., whose work is well known to the readers of the Methodist Review, son of Bishop D. W. Clark, is editor for the International Literary Bureau, Boston, Mass.

Benjamin Copeland, S.T.D., who poetically punctures the monarchical episcopate, is a retired minister of the Genesee Conference. His fine hymn, "Christ's Life our Code, His Cross our Creed," is No. 138 in the Methodist Hymnal.

Amos Williams Patten, D.D., late professor of biblical literature in Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., has been an extensive traveler in the Near East and the Orient. He also edited Bennett's treatise on Biblical Archæology.

Other contributors to this issue are Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, of Detroit, Mich., author, lecturer, preacher, and scholar; Professor George Albert Coe, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City; H. K. Carroll, religious journalist and statistician, and J. G. Vaughan, supervising medical mission work for the Board of Foreign Missions of our church.

In the July-August number of the Review Professor Edgar S. Brightman, of Boston University, will supply a sequel to his article in the January number on The Unpopularity of Personalism, to be entitled, Why Is Personalism Unpopular? There will also be both a contributed article and an editorial discussion on the divine and human element in the Bible.